University of Alberta

The Construction of Masculinity in Young Adult Novels for Boys, 1940-1997

by

Tami Marie Bereska ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy*

Department of Sociology

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Abstract

A recent newspaper headline reads "Road to manhood getting rougher". In the article, Harvard Medical School researcher William Pollack reports that his survey of high school boys indicates that they are confused and uncertain about what is expected of them as males in contemporary society. Why might this be the case? Why is there, as some people suggest, a "crisis" in masculinity? In addressing this kind of issue, and the broader issues of gender and patriarchy, I explore the structure of western masculinity, the structure of the Boys' World--the world *of* boys, the world *for* boys. What are its components? What are males supposed to *be*, and *do*, and *feel*, and *think*? The Boys' World is constructed through discourse, the overall collection of social knowledge about masculinity and manhood. One portion of that discourse, one arena within which general knowledge about manhood can be found, is popular culture--movies, television, music, video games, magazines, and books. One can learn something about the Boys' World through any of these social documents. The window through which I explore what masculinity is made of is Young Adult literature designed to appeal to adolescent males. By conducting a discourse analysis of the structure of masculinity in these novels, I am able to see at least part of what North American youth are being told about "manhood". Furthermore, by analyzing Young Adult novels from the 1940s to the present, I am able to see if that structure has changed over time. In fact, the results of this research indicate that the portion of the Boys' World contained in Young Adult literature has *not* changed over this period of time. The components that comprise the structure of masculinity--emotional expression, aggression, collectivity, adventure, athleticism, morality, hierarchy, and competition--as well as the conditions within which masculinity is realized (embodiment, heterosexuality, and No Sissy Stuff), are stable in the novels over the 50 year time period in question. Consequently, at least within some of the discourse, the structure of the Boys' World has remained unchanged for more than a century. These findings have implications for the question of the perceived "crisis" in masculinity, and the larger theoretical issue of the possibility of genderbending.

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CHAPTER 1--THE ROAD LESS TRAVELLED

When I was a little girl, after dinner and on weekends I would follow my father into the garage, where he would do his carpentry, and I would build alongside him, using my own miniature tool set. That was the life I knew. However, when I was 8 years old, the life I knew changed. My older sister, age 20, moved out, leaving my 25-year-old brother and I at home. Suddenly, I had to take on what had been my sister's household tasks. Each day, I would have to tell my father and brother when dinner was ready. We ate dinner at 5:30 virtually every night of my childhood; why didn't they know when it was time for dinner? After dinner, I no longer followed my father out to the garage. Now I had to help my mother clean up dinner's dishes. Meanwhile, my brother would watch television in his room, have a nap, and then "go out"--I wondered: Where is he going? What is he doing? When will I get to go there and do that (wherever and whatever "there" and "that" was)? On Saturday mornings, a day my mother worked, I now awakened to a list of "chores" tacked onto the refrigerator--dust the living room and bedrooms, vacuum upstairs, change the sheets, etcetera. Where was my brother's list? My brother didn't have a list. My father did all of the outdoor tasks--mowed the lawn, shovelled snow, did household repairs and vehicle maintenance--the kinds of things that I, incidentally, was more interested in. My mother and I did my brother's cooking, his cleaning, his laundry. We even frequently woke him up in the morning because he would sleep through his alarm. Why was I, a little girl, doing so much, and my brother, an adult, doing so little? My parents' response: "Because he's a boy. And why do you have to complain so much about it? Why can't you be more like your sister?" My sister had always done these tasks eagerly and without complaint (or so I was told); she was a model 'Suzy-homemaker'.

As a child, I did not understand this traditional, gendered division of labour. Playing house, *I* was always the one who spent the day at a high-paying job; *my husband* (played by one of my female friends) was the one to stay home with the children and cook dinner every night. Why couldn't reality be that way? Why were boys allowed to go places and do things that I was not allowed to, even if I was interested in and good at those things? The adults in my life (including parents, teachers, the authors of the books I read both in and out of school, and the people on television) presented me with a "Boys' World" and a "Girls' World". My place was in the Girls' World, and while I liked being a girl, I also wanted the opportunity to venture in the Boys' World. I was not certain exactly what that world contained, but knowing the domain I was restricted to, I thought that surely the other world must be a lot more fun! My question at the time was, "Why is that a Boys' World, and why can't I go there, too?" Why didn't anyone care about what *I* wanted? Why didn't anyone care about what *I* was interested in doing? As I got older, I saw that sometimes, there were boys who wanted to enter my world, too, boys who disliked or were not good at all the things that made up the Boys' World.

That, at the age of 8, was my introduction to gender. That introduction opened my eyes to what I now call social injustice, questioning, and resistance. I wanted to know more about these two separate worlds, realms that I thought existed only in people's minds, yet had incredible power--the power to surround people's physical bodies, to determine their actions, and eventually, to shape their own minds. I wanted to know what these distinct domains were made of , how they were created, and who had the authority to say that this was the way things were supposed to be. Those were the things I wanted to know. And I still do.

That beginning in life has brought me to where I am today, to the commencement of one of many intellectual journeys I am taking to find answers to the questions about gender that I began asking so many years ago. I hope you will join me as I venture into that Boys' World to see what it is made of, and how it has been created.

The Journey

On our journey to the Boys' World we will see adolescence and youth culture, popular literature, and the construction of masculinity. The route will take us through youth, popular culture, and gender. Other people have gone to some of the places we will go through, but few have gone to all of these places, and no one has taken this precise route to the Boys' World.

Many people in academia have gone to youth, popular culture, and gender as destinations in themselves. They have brought back a wealth of knowledge about each. In fact, so many people have taken those trips that there are entire university and college courses in which the curriculum focuses on each one of these areas. Fewer people have taken journeys that combine any of these topic areas. Consequently, there are specialists in gender who focus on youth or who focus on popular culture (for example, see the range of work done by Jackie Stacey, including Stacey, 1994). There are specialists in youth who focus on gender (for example, Carol Gilligan's work on female & male moral development during adolescence, 1982 and Gilligan, Ward, Taylor, & Bardige, 1988). Others study youth and youth culture via forms of popular culture (for example, a body of research explores the presumed effects of TV, music, and movies on youth). And then there are researchers such as Thurston (1987) who study forms of popular culture in terms of gender; specifically, Thurston explored gender and sexuality in contemporary erotic romance novels.

The route through all three of these locales takes us through a hinterland only beginning to be mapped. The early explorers of this land include Roman and Christian-Smith (1988), editors of a collection of essays that explore femininity among adolescent girls in terms of both representational and lived forms of popular culture. A later collection of essays, edited by Christian-Smith (1993), looks at popular fiction and adolescent femininity. Kay Vandergrift (1996) has created a model of female voices in youth literature, and is currently elaborating that model. A substantial proportion of the body of knowledge that combines the areas of gender, youth, and popular culture, particularly in 20th century North American form, focuses on girls, femininity, and forms of popular culture that are part of girls' lives; a relatively smaller proportion of this work focuses on males, masculinity, and forms of popular culture that are part of boys' lives. Works such as those mentioned above contribute to our understanding of the areas of gender, of youth, and of popular culture, as well as to our understanding of the ways in which gender, youth, and popular culture are interconnected to create the worlds in which boys and girls live. My research contributes to mapping this hinterland.

One way to enter the Boys' World is via popular literature. The gendered structure that I learned as a child at home seemed to be echoed in the stories I read. And sometimes, in order to take a glimpse into the realm from which I was restricted, I would read stories that were about boys living in that realm, stories that, as a girl, I was not supposed to be interested in. And while I knew that the stories were fictional, I understood the descriptions of the male characters (their desires, goals, roles, feelings, and personality traits) as real. Thus, by reading these stories, I had what I thought was a peek at what boyhood, and then manhood, was supposed to be about; I had a fleeting glance at what I now am able to label "masculinity". That is the way that you and I will explore this domain. By looking at Young Adult novels written from 1940 to the present that might appeal to boys in particular (but that girls like I was might be reading as well), we can see some of what the Boys' World entails. What is masculinity, or 'manhood', comprised of? How is it created? How has it changed (if at all) over time? How has it remained the same? Whether they are aware of it or not, the creators of these novels provide some answers to these questions.

Reasons for the Journey

Understanding Adolescent Reading

The study of youth in contemporary society has a strong history in many disciplines—sociology, psychology, education, and cultural studies. One area that has been explored in relation to youth is that of popular culture, both *lived* and *representational*. *Lived* popular culture refers to the culture that is enacted in the practices of specific social groups. For example, much of the early work of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, beginning in the early 1970s, focused on the study of working-class youth subcultures; this British tradition in the study of youth subcultures has continued since that time.[1] Michael Brake (1985) has done considerable work on youth subcultures in Canada, Britain, and the United States. *Representational* popular culture refers to products or items that are produced for popular consumption; representational forms of popular culture may be used within lived forms of popular culture, that is within the culture enacted in the practices of certain social groups. There is a significant British research tradition of representational cultural forms for youth as well[2].

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[1] For an overview of this work, see McRobbie, 1994.

[2] Ibid.

However in a North American context Moffitt and Wartella (1992) suggest that such research is lacking, relative to the amount of research done on both childhood and adult popular culture. When such research has been done in a North American context, it has tended to focus on youth and the electronic media, such as television (e.g. Luker & Johnston, 1988; Steenland, 1988; Potter, 1990), music (e.g. Christensen & Roberts, 1990), and movies (e.g. Snyder, 1991) This research often addresses the effects, or potential effects, of consumption on adolescent attitudes and behaviour. Questions asked might include: Does watching violent movies lead to aggression? Does listening to music with sexual content contribute to promiscuous behaviour?

Reading material, in comparison to the electronic media, is relatively neglected as the object of popular culture research. Reading research often falls within the domains of psychology and education, but they usually explore aspects of cognitive learning rather than leisure or other sociological aspects of the reading process (Moffitt & Wartella, 1992). Much of what psychologists and educators have written is intended for an audience of teachers, providing an overview of what material is available for adolescents, and how that material can be used in the classroom (e.g. Donelson & Nilsen, 1989; Nilsen & Donelson, 1993). One of the exceptions to this characteristic of reading research is some recent feminist work which investigates girls' reading material in terms of representations of femininity (e.g. Peirce, 1990; Christian-Smith, 1990). Most research on adolescents and reading is based upon the same presumption that has informed research on youth and the electronic media--the presumption of an influence on adolescent attitudes and behaviour. Questions asked might include: Does reading romance novels contribute to lower educational aspirations in girls? Does reading adult erotic magazines contribute to the development of female-targeted aggression in boys?

But why study adolescents and reading in this age of electronics? Although it certainly might be the case that fewer youth may be reading for leisure now than in past generations, there are still many adolescents who do, in fact, read. Among those who do not choose to read for leisure, some form of structured leisure-type reading may be part of their school curriculum. Even if the proportion of adolescents who read for leisure might possibly be declining (although this has not been documented), Moffitt and Wartella (1992) suggest that the *majority* of adolescents do still read for leisure (85% of girls and 65% of boys who are in high school). In fact, their research finds reading to be the third-favourite leisure activity of both boys and girls, following sports and interaction with friends. The Moffitt and Wartella study shows that adolescents even prefer reading over watching television (television is seventh on the list of favourite leisure activities).[3] Gallo (cited in Reed, 1994) found that young people between grades four and twelve read for leisure an average of 3.5 hours per week, and 43% of adolescents in grades seven to twelve read three or more books per month. In their research, Moffitt and Wartella (1992) conclude that the continued popularity of reading among adolescents demands that more research be done about adolescent reading and the materials that are read.

Investigating some of the reading materials designed to appeal to adolescent boys, as my research does, is one way of enhancing understanding of adolescent reading and the books that are read.[4] Because my research looks specifically at constructions of masculinity in these novels, my research can provide a better understanding of normative assumptions about masculinity, and by understanding these assumptions, a better awareness of gender. The questions I ask include: What are boys supposed to read? What are the stories about? Who are the characters? What do they do/not do? How do they experience the world around them? What are the readers being told about boys' and mens' lives?

Understanding Masculinity

Reading has been recognized as a gendered activity. Leng (cited in Heather, 1981) suggests that cultural influences define reading as a feminine pursuit, largely because of its passive nature and girls' greater restriction to the home. Leng also suggests that reading becomes gendered more specifically during adolescence, and that few gender differences in reading exist before the age of 8. Several studies (such as Bird, 1982; Reed; 1994; and Gallo, 1985) illustrate the gendered nature of reading in adolescence. First, a greater proportion of girls than boys read for leisure. Second, male and female adolescents have different reading interests—that is, boys and girls are interested in different types of stories. The overwhelming reading preference of girls is romance. Gallo (1985) found a large gap between romance, which is the primary reading choice of girls, and their secondary reading choice, which includes adventure and mystery, depending on the particular sample of girls in question. Moffitt and Wartella (1992) report a similar gap, with romance being 4.5 times as popular as the second-favourite reading category.

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[3] Note that this study indicates preferences for leisure activities; it does not necessarily indicate that more *time* is spent reading than watching television.

[4] For more information about the kinds of reading materials designed for youthful readers throughout Western history, see Chapter 3.

For boys, romance is one of the *least favourite* reading interests. In contrast to girls, boys show no overwhelming preference, but rather indicate interest in many areas (except for romance) including adventure, mystery, science fiction, sports, and horror (Moffitt & Wartella, 1992; Bird, 1982; Gallo, 1985).

The reading material chosen by girls, particularly romance, has been rather extensively explored in recent years. For example, I looked at the gendered content of adolescent series romance novels through the 1980s in comparison to other types of romance novels available at the time (Bereska, 1994). Christian-Smith (1990) investigated femininity in adolescent romance novels from the 1940s to the early 1980s, and several researchers have analyzed aspects of gender in various magazines which adolescent girls read (e.g. Peirce, 1990; Evans, Rutberg, Sather, & Turner, 1991). Of particular interest in many of these studies is the topic of femininity.

My research provides a balance to existing research on gender by studying masculinity. There are many reasons for studying masculinity, ranging from seeking general knowledge to seeking social change in terms of ending gender inequality in society. Stacey (1993) and Connell (1995) suggest that it is particularly important for masculinity to be studied within the field of feminist research and practice, because gender cannot be understood without understanding *both* masculinity and femininity. Stacey claims that "we cannot constitute liberatory femininities if we fail to unravel oppressive masculinities" (p. 713). She indicates that the study of masculinity easily fits within feminist schools of thought because it is a "feminist premise that masculinities have histories, and thus are always unraveling" (Stacey, 1993, p. 711). A patriarchal social structure is characterized by inequality and female oppression, which is a form of domination that is historically constructed. Before being able to alter forms of domination, such as patriarchy, "what we have to establish is the historicity of domination" (Brittan, 1989, p. 16). One step toward understanding patriarchy, and therefore one step toward ending patriarchy (which is a 'feminist' goal), is to study the construction and practice of masculinity, both past and present.[5]

While the problematics of gender in contemporary society are frequently studied in terms of females, more recent research directs similar concerns at males. Some people suggest that there is a contemporary 'crisis' in masculinity in North American society. Men, they say, are uncertain about who they should be and what they should be doing, because "the criteria for manhood in this society are in a muddled state" (Carol Tavris, cited in Doyle, 1995, p. 1). In a presentation to the Women's Studies department at the University of Alberta (1994), Marc Epprecht asserted the following;

> My main point here is that it is simply false to assert that there is something 'natural' or essential to the way we behave as men. For the most part, proper masculine behaviours have been defined negatively, that is, in relation to what they are not. Above all, they are not feminine, as each era and culture define it. In our own society today, femininity is so much more complex and contradictory than in the past that defining masculinity in relation to it is like trying to hit a moving target. No wonder many men are stressed out.

The nature of this crisis is reflected in the proliferation of books about reclaiming masculinity that have been on popular bestsellers lists over the last decade (such as Robert Bly's *Iron John,* 1990). If enough adult men are seeking solutions to their crises of masculinity to enable these books to become bestsellers, then it may be that any messages about manhood, regardless of the medium in which they are conveyed, might carry particular weight at this point in Western history. Since Young Adult novels might carry such messages, it is especially important to explore those Young Adult novels designed to appeal to young males to see what solutions they might offer to the alleged crisis in masculinity. My questions include: Is there a crisis? Can it be solved? How should it be solved? What kind of a world could prevent such a crisis from occurring?

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[5] For a review of the ways in which masculinity has been defined and studied in academia, see Chapter 4.

In some ways, the crisis in masculinity can be seen as being a crisis in adolescence as well. This is because it is during adolescence that developmental psychologists say a significant proportion of gender identity is formed (Rice, 1996).

Understanding Adolescence

In many cultures aroung the world, there are institutionalized rituals or rites of passage that young people go through on their path to adulthood. Typically these rites of passage are definitive indicators that the young person has left childhood and has entered adulthood. These rituals may take anywhere from only a few days to several months to complete. In this relatively short period of time (relative to contemporary Western cultures) the individual makes the transition from officially being a 'child' to officially being an 'adult'. As far back as the 1920s, some researchers have suggested that because we do not have formalized rites of passage in the Western world, we have problems with our adolescents. G. Stanley Hall (1904) called these problems the *sturm und drang* (i.e. storm and stress) of adolescence, but he considered the sources to be biological and evolutionary.[6] Others (such as Margaret Mead 1950, 1953) proposed a more social explanation, by suggesting that the lack of rites of passage was a cultural phenomenon and a lack of clearly-defined roles for adolescents was in part, the source of the 20th century Western 'crisis' in adolescence.

For boys living in a culture that has formalized rites of passage, the rituals signify the transition from boyhood to manhood. Similarly, the rites of passage for girls signify the transition from girlhood to womanhood. Without these rituals, the path to manhood or womanhood is somewhat vague—without clearly-defined and formalized rules, what does it mean to be 'a man' or to be 'a woman'? The confusion of Western adolescents that researchers such as Margaret Mead speak of is in part, a confusion about the meaning of manhood and womanhood. To find an answer to the question of what it means to be a man, people search the *discourses*, or the collection of social knowledge, surrounding masculinity. Young Adult novels form one part of that discourse.[7] Thus, exploring masculinity in Young Adult novels also facilitates greater knowledge about that socially-constructed stage in life that in the 20th century we call adolescence, and the transition from that stage to the stage of adulthood. My questions include: What are the traits that boys must acquire on the path to adulthood in order to become 'a man', as illustrated in Young Adult literature?

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[6] For an in-depth overview of the social construction of adolescence and youth culture, see Chapter 2.

As you can see, our journey explores and contributes to several bodies of knowledge. First, the body of knowledge surrounding youth popular culture, and more specifically, youth fiction. Second, the body of knowledge about masculinity, and more generally, about gender. Third, the body of knowledge about the discourse surrounding 'coming of age' that adolescents are exposed to, which is also a discourse of gender. And fourth, the body of knowledge that interconnects these aforementioned areas of study, and brings us to our final destination, the Boys' World--the world *of* boys, the world *for* boys. What does life in this world entail?

The Tour Guide

Who is the most appropriate guide for such a trip? Some readers might inquire whether it would be better for a male to be studying constructions of masculinity. After all, how can a woman fully understand masculinity? Then again, how can an adult fully understand Young Adult literature? Asking these questions raises valid issues. It is certainly true that a woman's understanding of masculinity might not be identical to a man's understanding; it is also true that an adult's understanding of Young Adult literature might not be identical to an adolescent's understanding. And yet, being an adult female makes me an 'outsider', a position which may provide me with a unique understanding of certain aspects of both masculinity and Young Adult literature. Not being caught in the webs of masculinity and adolescence to the same extent that males, and youth are, I may be able to see things that an 'insider' could not. As David & Brannon (1976) say of the fact that women (and generally feminist women) were the first to question and study masculinity and manhood: "It is difficult for fish to study the ocean, I've discovered, even when we know it's there" (p. 4). They go further, suggesting that some 'insiders' might not even realize that there is anything to study, anything to be seen. Put another way, "The fish will be the last to discover the ocean" (p. 2).

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[7] A more thorough explanation of discourse theory and the role of popular literature can be found in Chapter 5.

The perspectives of the 'outsider' and the 'insider' are different, but they each can bring something unique to contribute to the larger body of knowledge about the object of study. I suggest that neither is superior nor inferior to the other, but rather that each provides another piece of the puzzle, and therefore, each is necessary for a more comprehensive understanding of the whole. Through what H. G. Gadamer called a *fusion of horizons*, each individual brings something somewhat distinct to the object of study, as the nature of the object and the individual's unique life experiences and unique knowledge are woven together (Outhwaite, 1985).

Furthermore, masculinity and manhood are not only of relevance to the lives of males. Women, too, are exposed to the messages related to the construction of masculinity that are contained in discourse, just as I was when, as a child, I read books that were supposed to be for boys. In the context of Young Adult literature, the fact that girls cross-read--that is girls will read books designed to appeal to boys--exposes girls to the discourse of masculinity as contained in these novels. Some girls may decide that this is a world they want to enter, and subsequently act to do so; other girls may decide otherwise. As adults, women, too, help create the web of manhood—as mothers, as teachers, as intimate partners, as co-workers, as employers, and as women who choose to leave that world to the boys. While women are to some extent 'outsiders' to masculinity relative to men, they are also a part of masculinity; they are participants in the discourse surrounding masculinity, and in the lived experience that results.

The Itinerary

The journey we will be taking is both an intellectual journey and a physical journey. It is an intellectual journey because gender is an ideological construct, a conglomeration of ideas. It is a physical journey in that masculinity is enacted physically by males; the journey is also physical because literary fiction creates a substitute or vicarious physical reality in which the stories' characters live their daily lives. The next chapter takes us to our first stop on our trip, the domain of youth. In Chapter 2 we will look at young people in Western society today, and then search for the historical path that has created contemporary youth culture.

In Chapter 3 we arrive at our second stop, a bookstore where we can look at Young Adult literature. What is Young Adult literature? Where did it come from? When was it created? And how has it changed? The content of Chapter 3 will answer those questions.

Chapter 4 takes us to our third stop, the academic domain wherein masculinity has been studied. In this chapter we will see how masculinity has been constructed, how it has developed in Western history, and the different ways in which it has been studied.

Armed with the fundamental knowledge gained from Chapters 2, 3, and 4, we can then move on to our final destination, the world where youth, popular culture, and gender are combined to create part of the Boys' World that, as a little girl, I wanted to enter, too. In Chapter 5 I describe the method by which we can approach that world, and the rationale for my choice of that method. Finally, in Chapter 6 we will actually enter this world. Based on my reading of Young Adult novels for boys, written from the 1940s to the 1990s, we will gain insight into the ways masculinity is constructed. What characteristics are needed to be a part of the Boys' World, and under what conditions are those characteristics realized?

Let our journey begin.

CHAPTER 2--OUR FIRST STOP: YOUTH CULTURE

As we take a look at the youth around us, what do we see? We see young people congregating in groups in which all are roughly the same age; 12- and 13-year-olds are usually with others of the same age, not with 18-year-olds and not with 9-year-olds. In fact, we are likely to see 14-year-olds refusing to take their younger siblings along with them when going out with friends, even when parents plead with them to do so. These age-based groupings are even evident in the schools they attend, which are age-graded. For example, students in Grade 7 are aged 11 to 13; a 14-year-old or a 10-year-old is unlikely to be in Grade 7. There are even separate schools for the different age/grade groupings: elementary school for Grades 1 to 6 (and ages 5 to 11); junior high school for Grades 7 to 9 (and ages 11-15); high school for Grades 10 to 12 (and ages 15 to 18).

We see those of approximately junior high and high school aged attending concerts that virtually no adults are attending (e.g. Marilyn Manson, The Backstreet Boys, or Puff Daddy), and listening to compact discs that their parents describe as noise--"You call that noise music?!" parents often exclaim. At the movie theatre, those seeing movies such as *I Know What You Did Last Summer, Scream,* and *The Faculty* are predominantly high school students; in the 1980s movies with a similar audience included *Ski School, Hot Dog,* and *My Tutor.*

The youth we see are all wearing similar clothes, like Tommy Hilfigger T-shirts and Adidas tear-away pants; the girls are carrying Guess handbags. Going through the shopping malls, we can see young people shopping in particular clothing stores that are merchandised in a way and have music playing that appeals to them specifically. In the stores appealing to girls, there is a "uniform" of waist-length T-shirts, flared pants, and platform shoes. When I start to walk into one of these stores, my husband leans over to tell me that the clothes in that store might be "too young" for me, in my early thirties. In these stores, parents and their teenage children can be overheard arguing about the clothes:

Mom: "Those bell-bottoms look ridiculous! And they cost $50!"
Teenage daughter: "But everyone is wearing them! If I don't have any I'll be the laughing stock of the whole school!"
Mom: "Do you have to do something just because everyone else is doing it? If everyone else jumped off a bridge, would you jump too?"
Teenage daughter: (rolling her eyes) "You're soooo cool--NOT!"
Little sister: "If she gets bell-bottoms, I get bell-bottoms."
Teenage daughter: "Don't be dumb--you're too little for bell-bottoms!"

In fact, in places like shopping malls we can hear parents and teenage children arguing about a number of things--clothes, choice of friends, grades, attitude, and more. Passing by a bookstore, we can see that these kinds of family conflicts are becoming too much for some parents, who are in the Parenting section perusing titles like *How To Talk So Your Teen Will Listen* and *Surviving Your Child's Adolescence*. (Is a 'teen' the same as an 'adolescent'?) In the bookstore there is also a Young Adult section, but the customers in that section do not look like adults, young or otherwise. (Are they the same people that the adults in the Parenting section are looking for books about?) Because we want to explore the Boys' World through the window of Young Adult literature, we will come back to this section of the bookstore later.

Looking at these young people raises many questions in my mind. Why do they congregate with others of the same age, both in and out of school? Why do they want to wear the same clothes their peers are wearing, but not the clothes their parents or their younger siblings are wearing? Why are there particular clothing stores, and types of music, and movies, and books that are being marketed directly towards them rather than younger or older age groups? Why do so many parents complain to their friends and coworkers about the conflicts with their teenagers? Where has all of this come from? Has it always been this way? The participants in these scenarios often perceive such scenarios as 'natural', determined by biology, evolution, or some other fundamentally unchangeable source. But is it 'natural' and thereby unalterable? Are parents doomed to patiently wait for the storm and stress of adolescence to end?

To answer these questions we must look at the past, at the chain of events that has created the youth culture we see today. We can enter a hypothetical 'Archives of Western Youth'-

-or should that be 'Archives of Western Adolescence', or 'Archives of Western Teenagers'? (Do all of these terms refer to the same group of people?)--to explore the past. What we find is not 'natural' (whether biological or otherwise); rather *social construction* is at work. The social constructionist perspective postulates that the *meanings* of individual characteristics such as age, sex, race, and ethnicity are not universal, but rather vary across cultures and within a single culture over time (Kimmel & Messner, 1998). Consequently, in talking about young people, what is of sociological significance is not an individual's particular age, but what place in the social order and what roles are assigned to that individual based on his/her age, and what meanings have been attached to it. While individuals of the same chronological age exist in cultures around the world, within various cultures people of that age are considered to be in different stages in life. Subsequently, within various cultures people of the same chronological age are placed in different positions within the social order and are assigned varying roles; their ages may be the same, but the meanings attached to that age show considerable cultural and historical variation.

During the course of this chapter we will see how the roles and social positions assigned to young people have shifted historically, and hence how the meanings attached to those ages have shifted as well. These transformed roles, places in the social order, and meanings have constructed ideas of childhood, adolescence, and most recently youth culture.

Central to the emergence of a youth culture is the social construction of the life stage that has been labeled *adolescence*; without adolescents there could be no associated youth culture. [1] That is, a socially-recognized concept of adolescence had to appear prior to a youth culture being recognized and acted upon by those so designated. Furthermore, the construction of the idea of adolescence is an extension of the idea of childhood, which was socially-constructed somewhat earlier in history. This is the path that is traced in this chapter. By exploring the path from 'childhood' to 'adolescence' to 'youth culture', a more detailed picture of Young Adult literature and the individuals to whom that cultural product is targeted, both of which are subsumed under 'youth culture', emerges.

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[1] In current research literature, the terms *youth culture*, *youth subculture*, *adolescent culture*, and *adolescent subculture* are frequently used interchangeably, with variation depending upon the particular author in question (for a more thorough discussion, see Rice, 1996). Some researchers consider youth to comprise a distinct 'subculture', with values, norms, and interests that differ substantially from those of the adult world. Other researchers suggest that the criteria for 'subculture' (with distinct values, norms, and interests) are not met by the category of 'youth', because they say the generations are more similar than they are different; consequently, they use the more general term 'culture' to represent an overall way of living. I will use the term *youth culture*, except for times when *subculture* is warranted; in these instances, the use of *subculture* will be accompanied by an explanation.

Defining Terminology

The term 'adolescence' has its origins in the Latin verb *adolescere*, meaning 'to grow to maturity'. Despite the knowledge of its grammatical origins, providing a substantive definition is a daunting task. Definitions of this term show considerable variation, often depending upon the particular factor(s) one is focusing on. Thus, there are many particularized definitions of adolescence. For example, *biological* definitions often focus on the period between the onset of puberty and sexual maturity. *Psychological* definitions often suggest that adolescence starts with the beginning of autonomy from parents, and ends with the development of a coherent identity. *Cognitive* definitions mark adolescence with the entry into, and exit from, particular stages of problem-solving and reasoning. *Chronological* definitions mark adolescence as characterized by a certain age range; for example, in North America we tend to equate adolescence with ages 13 to 19. *Legal* definitions suggest that adolescence begins with the attainment of juvenile status in the eyes of the law, and ends with the attainment of adult status in the eyes of the law (both of which vary by country/province/state). *Social/sociological* definitions suggest that adolescence entails certain particularized status/role changes that differ both from childhood and adult roles/statuses. *Cultural* definitions of adolescence are dependent upon the particular society in question; in many cultures guidelines for entry into and exit from adolescence are defined through rites of passage.[2]

As can be seen, each of these types of definitions focuses on a different facet of the adolescent experience. Because of the many diverse factors which can comprise the adolescent experience, there have been numerous attempts to provide a definition that is broad enough to accommodate the various differential facets of adolescence. Thus, in many textbooks on adolescence, definitions similar to the following are common:

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[2] In some cultures the rite of passage from childhood, through adolescence, and into adulthood may last for only a few months, a few weeks, or even a few days. Thus, the path from childhood to adulthood would be a swift one, and some might question whether a period of adolescence even exists in these cultures.

> The developmental period of transition between childhood and adulthood that involves biological, cognitive, and social changes. (Santrock, 1993, p. 29)

Other terms are sometimes used interchangeably with 'adolescent', such as *teenager, young adult,* and *youth*. *Teenager* typically refers to the teen years, 13 to 19. *Young adult* is a broad term which does not focus on any particular age group; it may refer to teens, individuals in their early 20s, or even those in their late 20s. In terms of book sales in contemporary society, it typically refers to young people for whom the category of Young Adult literature is targeted, starting roughly at age 11.[3] *Youth*, although sometimes given a specific definition, such as those ages 18 to the mid-20s who are still full-time students (Kenniston, 1970), is more often used in a broad sense to refer to the 'younger generation' in general, which may include children, adolescents, and young adults. Although each of the above terms has at times been given specific definitions which do not perfectly coincide with that of 'adolescent', the reader should keep in mind their frequently broader usage that can make them interchangeable. The terms will be used interchangeably in this chapter, but referring specifically to the characteristics described below.

One commonality that exists among the various definitions of adolescence is that adolescence is recognized as a *distinct and unique stage* in the life cycle that occurs *between childhood and adulthood.* It is assumed that there are things about adolescents that make them different from both children and adults. However, this presumption is neither natural nor universal--it is socially-constructed. That is, adolescence as a distinct stage in the life cycle is not recognized in all cultures, nor has it been recognized throughout history in our own culture. The development of the concept has its own history and sociocultural context, which will be the focus of this chapter. The idea of adolescence is, in many ways, an extension of the notion of childhood, and in turn, adolescence then extends itself into the idea of a youth culture.

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[3] It is important to note that the age group to whom Young Adult novels are targeted has changed over time. In the 1940s and 1950s, the target age group was high school students. Since that time, the target age group for Young Adult literature has declined, so that now these novels are directed at 11-year-olds, or sometimes even younger children.

In describing the path from the construction of childhood, to the construction of adolescence, to the construction of youth culture, it should be remembered that there are some general similarities in the processes of development among Western societies. Many of the concepts and ideas are shared, although some specific details (such as the timing of certain trends) vary, not only across nations, but within nations as well. In the Canadian context, given a certain degree of cultural overlap with the United States and with Europe (particularly Great Britain and France), the social history outlined here will, at certain points, include similar aspects of social life in each of these nations.

Constructing Childhood

In contemporary Western society it is a taken-for-granted assumption that children are different from adults, with distinct needs and abilities based in biology. To question this assumption seems absurd. Yet in the Western world, this idea became accepted after the Middle Ages; during the Middle Ages people held a very different view of the life cycle, and perceived children in a very different way.

The Middle Ages

People in Western Europe during the Middle Ages generally did not conceive of a period of childhood distinct from adulthood. Rather, children were frequently perceived as miniature adults. At approximately the age of seven (the end of the period of 'infancy'), Western European children were often sent out as apprentices, and were in large part immersed into the adult world, in terms of both work and play (Santrock, 1993; Aries, 1962; Postman, 1982); they were expected to have similar interests and capabilities as the adults. Rooke (1996) says of children at this time:

> ...apart from their obvious biological constraints which separated them from degrees of labour and constrained their reproductive possibilities, [they] shared the same realities as the society at large. (p.6)

Although children were understood as miniature adults, tasks were assigned on the basis of gender and level of individual development. Children were:

> ...initiated into more rigorous and sophisticated forms of labour according to their physical and cognitive development. It is a mistake to see children during this period as being thrust into forms of labour that were unsuited to their biological development. (Rooke, 1996, p. 6)

As part of this culture, formal education in schools was reserved primarily for those who would become clerics (i.e. wealthy males), but seen as of minimal importance to others (particularly females). Aristocratic females were usually taught to read, but this was typically in the home environment rather than a school environment.

Childhood After the Middle Ages

Following the Middle Ages, several factors combined to create the idea of a distinct and extended period of childhood. These include the invention of the printing press (and the related need for literacy) (Postman, 1982), the Protestant Reformation (Postman, 1982; Schnell & Rooke, 1981; Rooke, 1996), the work of social theorists such as John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and the increasing need for a somewhat educated workforce in the expanding commercial and industrial enterprises. The following section will discuss each of these factors.

Postman (1982) suggests the following ideas are important to a conception of childhood, and its distinction from adulthood: (a) literacy, where being an adult means knowing how to read and being a child means not knowing how to read; (b) education, which suggests that there is something for children to learn in the path to becoming adults; and (c) shame--the idea that children need protection from adult secrets.

Postman (1982, p. 29) points out that the invention of the printing press, and the corresponding "knowledge explosion" is particularly significant in the development of the aforementioned ideas. With the invention of the printing press, learning gradually became *book-learning*, and there began to be a more culturally-significant separation of those who could and could not read. Adulthood presumed the "Literate Man" (Postman, 1982, p. 36), although not necessarily the Literate Woman. The need to become literate created the need for education and the need for schools.

The Protestant Reformation also emphasized literacy (Postman, 1982; Schnell & Rooke, 1981; Rooke, 1996). Contained within Protestant doctrine was the suggestion that personal salvation was the responsibility of the individual, so that in part the path to salvation required reading and interpreting the Bible. Consequently, reading became important not only for acquiring knowledge, but also for the salvation of the soul.

Philosophical work contributed to the development of the concept of childhood as well. Beginning in the 17th century, two different philosophical views of childhood arose. One of these views was that of John Locke (1632-1704). He suggested that the child was a *tabula rasa*, or blank slate. His work contributed to the perception of children as unformed adults, with maturation a process of forming adults. This view had implications for both formal education and the family. The family had to play a larger role in the lives of children; parents were responsible for 'forming' their children into literate, moral adults. In addition, schools were perceived as more important in the creation of adults as competent social and political beings.

A second philosophical view of childhood was proposed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). He suggested that children had different characteristics and needs than adults. Rousseau had a romantic conception of childhood, seeing it as synonymous with innocence and purity. Becoming an adult was a corruption of that innocence and purity; children had to be protected from the corruption of the adult world as much as possible through control of both children's environments and children's education.

> We are born weak, we need strength; helpless we need aid; foolish we need reason. All that we lack at birth, all that we need when we come to man's estate, is the gift of education. (Rousseau, 1762, cited in Smith, 1998)

This idea about childhood as a definitive stage in development, first established in Western Europe and then brought over to North America, was widespread among the literate classes by the end of the 18th century. This idea of childhood can be characterized by four criteria (Schnell, 1979): (a) *separation* from the adult world; (b) *protection* of children from the adult world, both physically and ideologically; (c) *dependence* on the adult world; and (d) *delayed* *responsibility*--best embodied in formal schooling. These four criteria would later be extended in the construction of adolescence during the process of industrialization (Rooke, 1996).

Schnell (1979) points out that at first the concept of childhood most easily fit within the lives and goals of the upper- and middle-class. Parents from these classes could afford to pay for formal education for their children, and also did not require their children's labour for family survival. Among the working-class and farmers, who required their children's labour for family survival, there was little time for childhood; for these families children had to become adults as quickly as possible. For the poor the possibility of separation, protection, and delayed responsibility for children was not possible. Over time, however, the concept of childhood began to spread across socioeconomic strata. In part, this was because of the efforts of upper- and middle-class reformers. Social reformers believed that all children, regardless of social class, were entitled to a childhood. Furthermore, members of the privileged classes expressed the concern that those children without a childhood

> would pose a danger to those who had. Those who had 'fallen' by chance or by will from any or all of the necessary criteria of childhood had to be rescued--rehabilitated or reformed--and to prevent the majority of children from falling at all they had to be rescued before the fact. Thus the...school was eminently suited to the task. It was indeed 'the most orderly of rescues'. (Schnell, 1979, p. 23)

Thus, the concept of childhood and the idea of formal schooling became intimately linked. Formal schooling would subsequently play a central role in the construction of adolescence as well, and once again, the privileged classes would be pivotal in its construction.

Constructing Adolescence

The path from the construction of childhood to the construction of adolescence follows the road from pre-industrial society to industrial society. Only within an industrial economy did the concept of adolescence fully emerge. The following sections of this chapter follow this path. A brief description of pre-industrial North America is followed by a recounting of the social changes that accompanied the process of industrialization, leading to the modern conceptualization of adolescence. Because formal schooling is central to this process, much of the discussion of industrialization concentrates on how formal schooling changed during industrialization.

Pre-industrial North America

Preindustrial life centered around home and family life because homes were not only where people lived, but also where the majority worked and learned everything they needed to know to become adults. Because of this, preindustrial life was characterized by more of a continuity between generations than would be seen after industrialization (Kett, 1977). Most family members were responsible for certain tasks within the *family economy*, with particular tasks being assigned on the basis of age and sex (Gaffield, 1990). Training for the tasks required for family survival began at a very early age. As children matured, their responsibilities gradually and steadily increased, until at a relatively young age (compared to contemporary children), they had all of the skills necessary for a productive adulthood.

Education was largely a family affair at this time. Formal schooling was reserved for the wealthy, particularly wealthy boys. Although arguments for *common schooling* emerged in the 18th century (i.e. publicly-funded schooling available to all children), by the turn of the 19th century only small numbers of children attended school. Even in areas of North America with the most developed school systems (such as New England), only 10% of children ever attended school, and even those attended only intermittently and for short periods of time (Butts & Cremin, 1953).

In Canada there was tremendous regional variation in school attendance. In the 1820s, Upper Canada had approximately 7,000 students in its common schools, while in Nova Scotia in 1826 there were 217 schools with 5,550 students (Axelrod, 1997). There was greater attendance for the upper- and middle-class than for the working-class and especially for farming families, who had a greater need for the labour of their children for family survival. In many small rural schools the seasonal nature of agricultural demands resulted in seasonal school attendance. Most boys, except for the very young, could only attend school during the winter months. The nature of girls' home tasks enabled more consistent year-round attendance. For the largely rural families living in Canada at the time, survival rather than schooling was the top priority. Even with more free time in the summer/winter months, attendance was infrequent due to distance, poor road conditions, or bitterly cold weather (Axelrod, 1997). As a result of infrequent attendance, the schooling experience was often scattered; a student might attend school for three months during one year, six months the following year, and only one month the year after. Consequently, the age range of students was quite wide, and academic development uneven. For example, an 18-year-old with intermittent attendance might be at the same academic level as a 9-year-old with consistent attendance.

Generally, the following characteristics of pre-industrial North American society contributed to a lesser degree of age-grading and greater continuity between generations. First, labour-intensive rural life required varying types of production by all family members, regardless of age. Second, because most of the population both lived and worked on their isolated farms, the individual's social life was largely restricted to family life, which was characterized by a blending of all age groups for recreation. Third, education occurred primarily within the family rather than in schools. With this degree of continuity among generations, the concept of adolescence was not present. However, as the process of industrialization began, the conditions emerged that provided the basis for the construction of adolescence.

The Process of Industrialization

Social historians (such as Kett, 1977; Tanner, 1992; and Rooke, 1996) suggest that the process of industrialization in the 19th century was the principal force behind the construction of what is now labeled adolescence. Industrialization involved "a series of economic and social changes that have radically transformed our conception of the position of young people in society" (Tanner, 1992, p. 204). Two of the most significant changes were the changing economy and the creation of compulsory education.

During industrialization, 'work' began to be removed from the home and moved into factories. All able-bodied family members, including children, began to work for wages, which they pooled for family survival. Hence, what was previously referred to as the *family economy* was transformed into the *family wage economy* (Gaffield, 1990). An increasing proportion of the population (particularly young men and some young women) moved into towns and cities, where factories and job opportunities were located. One result of urbanization was more extensive peer group interaction for youth in city neighborhoods, which drew attention to them as a group.

As industrialization and mechanization progressed further, available workers began to outnumber available job opportunities. In part this contributed to the removal of women and children from the labour force in order to reserve the available jobs for men. Also contributing to the removal of young people from the labour force was the spread of earlier educational philosophies, such as Rousseau's romantic conception of growing up as a process of corruption, described earlier in this chapter. Puberty was seen as a particularly dangerous period of development, requiring protection from worldly influences in order to ensure healthy physical and psychological adjustment, and a smoother transition to adulthood. These educational philosophies formed the basis for the necessity of labour laws dealing with the protection of young people.

The overt aims of child labour legislation were to protect children from exploitation in the labour force and enable them to acquire the education seen as increasingly necessary for success in the more complex, industrializing economy. However, with the growing shortage of job opportunities, the logic of child protection also served as a rationale for removing children from the labour force to make job opportunities for adults. As children were displaced back to the home, so were many women, partially in order to care for their children. The confinement of women to the domestic sphere was then justified on the grounds that they were the necessary moral guides for prevention of the corruption of their children and their husbands. Moral guidance became an almost full-time task for women because of the temptations of the public sphere of industrialization and urbanization. In the past, men were seen as the moral guardians of the family and of society. However, because men were now working full-time in the dangerous, corrupt, industrial world, they were the most subject to the associated temptations. They could no longer be depended on as moral guardians, and in fact, had to be morally guided and protected themselves by the 'pure' wife and mother in the house. Thus, ideological changes in the conception of youth and the home were interrelated with economic developments and difficulties of the time. The family became a unit of consumption rather than a unit of production, creating the *family consumer economy* (Gaffield, 1990).

The changes in family life that accompanied industrialization (i.e. the removal of work from the home, changing family roles, and resulting social problems) were the focus of public concern, especially for the "new science" of Sociology (Hutter, 1998). In the works [illegible] Marx and Engels, there is a discussion of the link between economic factors and family life, [illegible] definition of the family as an economic unit, and a concern with the consequences for human life of the development of industrialization and capitalism. They discussed the problems of the separation of the public and private spheres in society accompanying industrialization, especially the problem of alienation that accompanied capitalist industrialization and the poverty of family life for the working-class. Many other 19th century critics of industrialization suggested that the process had led to individualization and a loss of power for families and the church. For example, Toennies wrote about the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesselschaft* (i.e. the transition from community-like living and social support to individually-based living and the lack of social support), and expressed a desire to return to a romanticized conception of the *Gemeinschaft* past, for the good of individuals, families, and society. Durkheim expressed similar sentiments in his discussions of the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity, and pointed to one of the problematic consequences of modern life, suicide, especially among single men and industrial workers. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the sociological studies undertaken by researchers at the University of Chicago linked industrialization with social disorganization and related social problems such as crime, prostitution, alcohol use, and family disruption and disintegration (Wirth, 1938; Park & Miller, 1921).

In analyzing the changes and problems that accompanied industrialization, several turn of the century sociologists produced suggestions for change. For example, not only did they address the problem of potential corruption of society's youth, but they also helped to maintain the idea that youth were in need of protection, and that society had to do something to protect them.

One of the protective measures advocated by sociologists and social reformers was extending compulsory education to children. Thus, one area of significant social change accompanying industrialization was the expansion of common schooling, which set the wheels in motion for the concept of adolescence to emerge.

Common Schooling

During the 19th century, there was tremendous growth in common schools and common school attendance. During the latter half of the 19th century, formal education became the norm in the United States. By the late 19th century, 57% of American children ages 5-18 were enrolled in school nationally (Butts & Cremin, 1953). In Canada between 1841 and 1871, common school enrollment increased from 160,000 to 800,000 students (Axelrod, 1997). However, attendance continued to be irregular. In 1880, only 58% of enrolled students in Ontario attended more than 100 days out of the 244-day school-year. The demands of farming and of working-class urban life continued to have their impact on schooling. For example, it has been estimated that during the 1880s, children were approximately 11% of Toronto's workforce (Axelrod, 1997). During this time, a number of different kinds of educational institutions emerged, such as private academies and colleges; however, the majority of school attendance was in common schools, with 90% of all schooled children attending common schools (Tyack & Hansot, 1992).

Female school attendance also increased during this time. By 1850, more than half of all girls ages 5-19 in the North East United States were attending school. By 1870, girls comprised 49% of pupils in public (i.e. common) schools, and girls ages 10-14 surpassed boys in terms of literacy rates and academic achievement (Tyack & Hansot, 1992).

The increase in attendance was also accompanied in Canada by growing support for expanding public education. Axelrod (1997) describes the growth of this support from a number of fronts. First, Canadian politicians who were seeking greater independence for the nation supported the idea of free public schooling as being crucial for the process of democratization and the promotion of nationalism. They believed that ordinary citizens had the right to be educated so that they could better work towards their own best political self-interests. Second, some more conservative or traditional colonial politicians supported the idea of free compulsory schooling as a means to socialize children into their 'appropriate' roles in life so that social and civil order could be maintained. Third, Axelrod points to the influence of the United States on Canadian colonists in two ways: (a) as a source of inspiration and a culture to be emulated, given the rising power and prosperity of the United States; but also (b) as a model of the problems arising from their individualistic, republican way of life, believed to have contributed to the conflicts culminating in the Civil War. The latter demonstrated the importance of the Canadian school system as a means of socializing children into a Canadian, rather than American, way of life.

Fourth, social reformers believed that free public education would help solve the growing problem of poor, idle youth in the urban centers.

> If poverty was caused by idleness, idleness by ignorance, and ignorance by the lack of schooling, then surely the community as a whole would benefit from investing in the education of the underclasses. Their children would be taught discipline, respect for private property, the virtues of manners, and morality. (Axelrod, 1997, pp. 28-29)

Fifth, farmers were increasingly coming to support the idea of public schooling (although not necessarily compulsory schooling). With large families, there frequently was not enough farmland to be passed down to all the children for their livelihood. Consequently, farming parents hoped that an education would enable their children to find an alternative means of economic survival. Furthermore, basic literacy was a resource for many tenant farmers. It enabled them to read the contracts drawn up by their landlords, thereby preventing their own exploitation.

Sixth, ideologies regarding the nature of childhood contributed to expanding support for public schooling. Christian theologians promoted the idea that children had original sin and required continuous discipline to prevent them from succumbing to the temptations of the modern world. This was a powerful message in a society in which the public and private spheres had become distinct, and many parents in wage labour (particularly working-class parents) were no longer able to continuously supervise their children. Consequently, public schools could be seen as places providing the supervision and socialization required by the nature of childhood.

From Common Schooling to Compulsory Schooling

As common schooling expanded, debates began surrounding the question of compulsory schooling. Compulsory attendance legislation emerged, varying by region; for example, some American states required 12 weeks of attendance per year, while others required only 8 weeks of attendance per year (Urban & Wagoner, 1996). Canada's first compulsory education legislation was enacted in Ontario; this legislation dictated that children ages 7 to 12 had to attend school for a minimum of four months each year. Supporters of compulsory attendance were concerned, in part, over idle youth free of family supervision in the rapidly growing urban areas. Opponents of compulsory legislation felt the government was removing parental rights and freedoms. There was also opposition from the working-class and some farmers, who said they needed their children's labour for family survival.

From Compulsory Schooling to Age-Grading

The common school slowly came to be replaced by what was first labeled the *urban school*. How was the urban school different from the common school? Within the common school, the specific curriculum was based on the student's level of development, regardless of age. Urban schools were distinguished from the rural-based common schools by the fact that a specific curriculum was developed based on age, and level of development was presumed to be linked with age. This new approach was based on the advice of 'experts' on child development, and consolidated by legislation requiring a minimum amount of school attendance each year. Thus, the classrooms became *age-graded*. This change came more slowly in rural schools with fewer students, where developmentally-based curriculum within one-room schoolhouses continued for some time. Age-grading provided a *standard* against which parents could compare the development and skills of their own children; this may have placed greater pressure on parents to provide regular schooling for their children, so that they would not be behind their peers in terms of educational skills.

Debates Over Coeducation

A significant debate in the late 19th century was over coeducation, despite the fact that it was already the norm in practice. In small, rural schools the small number of students necessitated coeducation. In urban areas, the larger number of students was used as a rationale for separate classes, or even separate schools, for the sexes. Advocates of the separation of the sexes "feared the consequences of exposing girls to the coarseness of male students (Urban & Wagoner, 1996, p. 168). Advocates of coeducation believed that the presence of girls would encourage boys to behave better, and thereby enhance the overall learning environment. Similar ideals are echoed in the 1990s, in debates over the value of separate girls' schools. Those in favour of girls' schools refer to the distractions girls face when sharing a classroom with boys, and the way that girls are overshadowed by the more vocal boys who demand attention (Heather, 1998). Despite the debates over the value of coeducation, by 1890, coeducation was the norm in public (as opposed to private) educational institutions in both rural and urban regions throughout North America, even in those areas that had previously held separate classes for the sexes.

Not only was the value of coeducation debated during this time, but female education in general was called into question. Many 'experts' strongly urged the removal of girls from formal education, on the basis of the theory of *the convertibility of sexual energy* (Kett, 1977). Supporters of this theory believed that the development of female reproductive organs was a precarious process. The rise in sexual energy at puberty (which was most obvious in girls due to menstruation and breast development) resulted in a rise in physical, moral, and spiritual energy. Consequently, anything that depleted sexual energy would also deplete all other types of energy. Threats to sexual energy and healthy reproductive development in girls were believed to include physical and mental stimulation of any kind (Nathanson, 1991). As a result of this belief, formal education was perceived as a threat. However, despite these concerns, in practice the participation of girls in common education was not affected to a significant extent; in fact, female schooling continued to rise. This idea did, however, reinforce the exclusion of women from postsecondary education at the time.

The growing removal of youth into age-segregated schools, where they spent much of their days, along with their prolonged dependence on adults, provided the first inklings of what would later become a youth culture. The age-grading of many schools meant that student peer groups were increasingly comprised of children of similar ages. The development of high school education contributed to the entrenchment of these trends.

From Common Schools to Compulsory High School

In the late 19th century there were increased demands for common high school education as well as common elementary schooling. At the time, common schooling extended only to the age of 13 or 14, which left off at what many people perceived as one of the most critical periods in life.

> This was the time when the average boy had to learn means of self-support and when the average girl had to fit herself for domestic duties. This was the time, too, when technical training was vital. (Butts & Cremin, 1953, p. 364)

As with the beginnings of the compulsory common school movement, the compulsory high school movement also saw opposition from the working-class and some farmers, in part because they needed the labour of their older children, and also because they believed that their children did not need an education higher than the common school for their 'lot in life' (Butts & Cremin, 1953).

The high schools which did exist in the 19th century primarily served the middle-class, and had a strong female presence. In 1872, more than 50% of the high school population in both Canada and the United States was female, and the female presence was even stronger in large urban areas (Urban & Wagoner, 1996; Axelrod, 1997). Girls of this age had less access to the workplace than their male counterparts. Because middle-class girls were not in the workforce, they were considered to be *safer* in high schools rather than on the city streets.

High schools developed at a faster pace in the United States than in Canada, due to the larger population and the larger urban areas. In Canada, high schools were available in Central/Eastern Canada, Alberta, and Saskatchewan by 1900. However, high schools still served only a minority of the population, and were largely an urban phenomenon. By 1900, fewer than

10% of Canadian 15-19 year-olds were in high school (Axelrod, 1997). High schools had a strong academic focus rather than pragmatic focus, and were "intended to refine the students' 'mental culture'" (Axelrod, 1997, p. 61).

As industrialization progressed, the purpose of schooling was transformed from "moral virtue to economic betterment" (Urban & Wagoner, 1996, p. 198); formal education was perceived as increasingly necessary for economic success in an industrialized society. Economic success could be of varying types, so that high school was no longer limited to the college-bound. The eventual result was the development of the comprehensive high school characterized by curriculum differentiation for the different goals of students. There was the *academic track* for students who were college bound (primarily upper- and middle-class males). There was the *commercial track*, primarily for middle-class girls who would, for example, help in running the family business. Finally, there was the *vocational track*, which provided training in a trade to members of the working-class and frequently to youth from immigrant families.

Although the creation of alternative high school tracks was intended to service youth of all socioeconomic classes, its initial construction largely serviced the needs of the privileged classes. While working-class families often opposed the idea of compulsory high school, the privileged classes fought in its favour. This was because some degree of high schooling for all youth helped to ease the anxiety of the middle-class "about the security of their persons and their property in the face of a growing urban mass..." (Schnell, 1979, p. 22), and also provided a "disciplined and skillful workforce" to the "industrial owning classes" (Schnell, 1979, p. 22).

With the development of this period of extended education, adulthood was postponed and a specific, age-graded period of time in the lifecycle was defined as a period of preparation for adulthood (through educational training along various tracks). *Adolescence* was defined as the time during which one trained and prepared for adult life in the industrialized public sphere. Axelrod (1997) suggests that, "More, perhaps, than any other institution, the school was assigned the job of ensuring the child's transition to a productive, rewarding adulthood" (p. 126), and in this way contributed to the idea of adolescence. This time in life was different from childhood, in that childhood education was merely laying down the fundamentals of the three R's. In contrast, education for adolescents served the specific function of preparation and training for adult roles. Consequently, adolescence as a distinct stage in the life cycle devoted to the transition from playful childhood to responsible adulthood emerged only within the conditions of a fully industrialized society.

At the turn of the 20th century, the adolescent was born. It is important to note, however, that although the term 'adolescent' was applied in discourse to both males and females, the concept arose primarily from the male experience--a period of exploration and education required for the transition from the private sphere of home/family to the public sphere of work. With industrialization, women were expected to remain in the home as the moral guardians of *havens in a heartless world* (see Lasch, 1977). There was no concept of exploration or choice for girls. Girls knew what they would be when they grew up--wives and mothers. Consequently, although some girls participated in formal education through the postsecondary level, formal education was perceived as less valuable and less functional for girls. For girls, schooling was not a preparation for a public, productive adulthood, but rather offered a safe place for girls to bide their time until marriage. What girls needed to know in preparation for adulthood was primarily learned in the home from their own mothers; furthermore, the skills they needed were not taught during a specific stage in the life cycle, but rather were taught to them from early childhood onward. Thus, the concept of adolescence as originally constructed, although applied universally in ideological terms, was in practice largely a male experience, and as an extended educational experience, largely of benefit to middle-class males.

Who was responsible for the construction of the concept of adolescence? It was those individuals and groups in society who were in positions of authority in various ways (primarily members of the middle-class). These were the people who first emphasized the need for education and created the first common schools, and then the first high schools. These were the people who contributed to the development of an economic system which necessitated greater levels of education for larger segments of society. They were administrators who determined the structure and functioning of the school system; philosophers and psychologists who provided 'facts' about the nature of human beings and human development; and community leaders who interpreted and responded to the information provided by the 'experts' and put that information into practice in their own communities. It was not the youth who created the concept of adolescence, but the adults; and it was not the working-class, but the privileged classes who endorsed the concept. Overall, it was those who were in power in society (in various ways) who were responsible for the construction of this concept.

At the turn of the century, society's authority figures continued to play a role in the maintenance and expansion of the idea of adolescence as a distinct period in the life cycle. However, as the 20th century progressed, what was known as adolescence soon became part of a larger *'youth culture'*. As a youth culture grew, it frequently came to be defined in its opposition to adult culture, and being outside of the control of society's authorities. The 'adolescent' had been welcome to many of society's authority figures--'youth culture' was less welcome to some who registered its arrival.

Constructing "Youth Culture"

According to Kett (1977) the *Age of Adolescence* began in the 20th century. The recognition of adolescence as a distinct stage in life led to further study and development of the concept by psychologists, urban reformers, educators, youth workers, and counselors.

The first extensive study of adolescence was done by G. Stanley Hall in 1904, in a two-volume work titled *Adolescence*. His was a nature-based theory of human development drawing on Darwin's evolutionary theory. Hall suggested that an individual's development paralleled the evolutionary development of the human species, Adolescence was a transitional state from the 'beastlike' nature of childhood to the 'humanlike' nature of adulthood. Because of the biological changes occurring, adolescence was a time of *storm and stress*.

Although his theory was discredited by many fellow scientists, Hall's work validated the study of adolescence and stimulated much more work in the area. His work, and the work of some of his followers, received considerable public attention in newspapers and popular literature, thereby affecting the general public's view of how to treat adolescents. Because adolescents were not yet 'human', and thought to require a great deal of control, then the means for society to impose conformity and passivity on adolescents was thought important; this idea lent further support for the role of schools in education and socialization.

Some of the most significant 20th century changes for adolescents were the changes in the workplace that required, increasingly, greater education for a larger proportion of the population. In 1918 in the United States, 75% of children aged 5-18 were enrolled in schools, with 8% of those in high school. By that same date, all U.S. states and 8 Canadian provinces had compulsory school attendance (Butts & Cremin, 1953; Axelrod, 1997). In 1920, 33% of American adolescents aged 14-17 were in school; by 1960 that number grew to approximately 90% (Cummings, 1995). A result of the greater education for a greater proportion of young people was a strengthening of the adolescent peer group, members of which were segregated in high schools, and then in junior-high schools as well.

Junior high schools became commonplace by 1930. The reasons for even more refined age grading that the creation of junior-high schools involved was twofold. First, they served the special developmental needs of early adolescence, as revealed by the newly-emerging experts in the field. Second, junior-high schools served as a bridge between the undifferentiated curriculum of elementary schools and the differentiated curriculum of high schools (Urban & Wagoner, 1996).

It was the period during and after World War II which was particularly significant in the development of a youth culture in the West in the 20th century. Youth labour was used during the war (at least on a part-time basis) to fill in some of the gaps in the labour force caused by the war. The independent incomes of young people, combined with an expanding economy, gave them a certain degree of economic power, and increased their public visibility.

Tanner (1992) suggests that after World War II, three factors interacted to create a true youth culture: (a) the removal of adolescents from production; (b) their confinement to a lengthier age-graded education system; and (c) the calculations of the youth leisure industry. Following the war, youth along with women, were removed from the labour force, giving jobs back to the returning soldiers. Western societies experienced growing prosperity, so that the labour of youth was no longer required for the survival of large numbers of families, even those of the working-class. This change, accompanied by the growing complexity of society (in part due to technological advances made during the war), resulted in the expansion of education for an increasing number of people; after World War II, high school education became the norm for youth in North America.

People born during and immediately following World War II became the "original" *teenagers* of the 1950s (Doherty, 1988, p. 45). They differed from previous generations in terms of sheer numbers, economic prosperity, and generational cohesion; they had an "awareness of themselves as teenagers" (Doherty, 1988, p. 45). Society accorded them a particular social status 'teenager', and this group became a part of a recognized youth culture.

There was some dismay at the arrival of the teenager and the associated youth culture. As this culture emerged, so did concerns over the problems caused by youth:

> Throughout the decade [i.e. the 1950s], cultural guardians likened American teenagers to barbaric hordes descending on a city under siege. (Doherty, 1988, p. 51)

Despite this pessimistic view, others celebrated youth culture.

> ...the business community was welcoming their arrival at the gates. With good reason: there was a fortune to be made selling trinkets to the invaders. (Doherty, 1988, p. 52)

Soon there were countless products being marketed specifically to the youth culture--books, magazines, music, movies, fashions, and television programs. By 1959 more than 10 billion dollars were being spent in the United States *every year* in response to teenage demands (Doherty, 1988).

> Appealing to what were felt to be universal age-specific needs, emotions, and experiences, the youth-oriented leisure industry helped nurture the view of the young as a unique, distinctive, and homogeneous social category (Tanner, 1992, p. 209)

Furthermore, the best way for the leisure industry to continue making money was to include in its products the idea that there was a distinctive youth culture. This would reinforce to teenagers themselves that they were a part of a distinct social group, which would hopefully lead them to purchase more of youth-oriented leisure products. The youth leisure industry operated with the assumption that youth comprised a unique *subculture*, distinct from and in many ways oppositional to adult culture.

As recognition of youth culture spread throughout society, social research about this new social group exploded, and was reflected in the emergence of courses studying Youth Culture in universities throughout the United States. What was the nature of youth culture? Why were teenagers so rebellious and oppositional (or were they)? These questions, among others, were asked by scores of sociologists, psychologists, and educators from a wide range of research traditions. Becoming such a strong focus of academic study also reinforced the idea that teenagers formed a unique social category, distinct from both children and adults. This idea has continued, largely unabated, throughout the second half of the 20th century. The teenager, and associated youth culture, was 'born' in the 1950s, and still 'lives' at the close of the millennium.

Conclusion

This look at the constructions of age-graded definitions of young people in the past helps us to better understand the youth we see around us in contemporary North America. Western history is characterized by a chain of events and related ideological constructions--the 'miniature adult' of the Middle Ages, the 'child' of the 18th and 19th centuries, the 'adolescent' of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and finally the 'teenager' of the later 20th century--that has led to age-segregated groups of young people who are purchasing clothes, music, movies, and books designed specifically for them, and who want to be distinct from both children and adults. Conflicts with the older generations invariably ensue from this pursuit of distinction combined with a desire to conform to peer expectations.

However, these characteristics are neither 'natural' nor universal. Particular roles and positions in the social order that are assigned to young people, as well as particular meanings that are attached to individuals in their teenage years have shifted over the past few centuries. Sociocultural changes, emerging initially within the lives of the middle-class, and then expanding as a result of the efforts and societal dominance of the middle-class, have constructed the youth culture we see today. These sociocultural changes include the process of capitalist industrialization, compulsory elementary and high school education, and the calculations and the efforts of the youth leisure industry.

Having looked at the lives of youth in the past, we have a larger social context within which we can consider the Young Adult literature that will lead us into the Boys' World. What exactly is Young Adult literature? When and how did it arise? What are the stories about? Who are the characters? How has it changed over time? To answer these questions, we should return to the bookstore we saw earlier, and look around.

CHAPTER 3--OUR SECOND STOP: THE WORLD OF YOUNG ADULT LITERATURE

Now that we have looked at the construction of youth culture both past and present, we can return to the bookstore to explore Young Adult literature, one of the cultural products that is written and marketed specifically for youth, and one of the means by which the Boys' World can be entered. In one bookstore, there is a section called 'Young Readers'; in another bookstore there is a section called 'Young Adult'. Although these sections have different labels, the books on the shelves are similar. On the spines of many of the books is the imprint 'YA', indicating that they are, indeed, for youth. But what, precisely, is a Young Adult novel, and what makes it different than books targeted at other age groups?

What Is Young Adult Literature?

There are different ways that Young Adult literature is defined by various people. Some people define it as a book that is targeted towards youth in particular:

> Young Adult fiction is written BY a serious author, FOR a Young Adult reader, ABOUT the problems, emotions and events that concern adolescents. (Irwin & Eyerly, 1988, p. 3)

A Young Adult book is one written both *about* and *for* Young Adults, according to this type of definition. In contemporary society Young Adult can constitute a distinct category of literature, having separate sections in bookstores and libraries, and with books often labeled 'YA' or 'Young Adult' on the spine. The Young Adult label may be somewhat more precarious when attached to novels for boys rather than girls; Epstein (1987) suggests that coming-of-age books about boys are more likely to appear on publishers' general book lists than on Young Adult or Juvenile lists. Books that precede the formal 'YA' labeling system can frequently be recognized on the basis of authorship; that is, certain authors are recognized as specifically Young Adult authors. For example, John Tunis, S.E. Hinton, and Robert Cormier are recognized as Young Adult authors who have written books that appeal to boys.. Judy Blume is an example of an author recognized as a writer of Young Adult novels for girls.

Some researchers (e.g. Nilsen & Donelson, 1993) suggest that the kind of definition that is quoted above is too restrictive. In contrast, they suggest that Young Adult literature should be defined as "any book freely chosen by someone in this age group [i.e. junior-high and high-school age]" (preface). This type of definition is based upon the idea of a voluntary actor. That is, the young person is perceived as purely self-determining in his or her selection of leisure reading materials; he or she is presumed free to choose *any* book in the bookstore or library. However, Nilsen and Donelson's definition ignores the *prescriptive* component of Young Adult literature, published and marketed as a distinct category. As I described in the previous chapter, the social construction of youth culture in North America has included the creation of a body of fictional literature that is written for the adolescent. More significantly, this literature is displayed in its own distinct section in libraries and bookstores. While adolescents may stray outside of the boundaries of that socially-constructed youth culture when selecting their reading material, the boundary that has been constructed for them is important to explore as an aspect of that youth culture itself.

Nilsen and Donelson's (1993) definition may allow us to learn more about adolescent reading, but it restricts what we can learn about Young Adult literature. The books that are included in the distinct category of Young Adult literature are stories that authors, and/or publishers, and/or librarians, and/or teachers (and the list could continue) think will be *most appealing to* young people or that young people *should be reading*. The prescriptive component of literature intended for Young Adults or for children is firmly embedded in literary history; for most of literary history, books for young people have had a strong moral or didactic component, intended to teach something to the young reader that someone in a position of authority has deemed important for the child to learn. Macleod (1994) suggests that the didactic intent of children's literature arises from conceptions of childhood as being a time in life when one is in need of protection.[1]

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[1] For a more detailed discussion of the concept of childhood and its relation to ideas of protection, see the previous chapter.

> ...In practical terms...modern middle-class childhood is managed, directed, organized, and defined by adults, for the good of the child and the good of society, as adults see both. And management of childhood implies restriction of children. (Macleod, 1994, p. 177)

In fact, as we saw earlier in our exploration of youth in the past, it is not only middle-class childhood that is controlled; historically the middle-class has sought to control the lower-classes as well, as illustrated in the creation of compulsory education legislation described in the previous chapter. Arising from the perception of childhood in need of protection and control, censorship emerged as a normative practice in children's literature.[2] Historically, Macleod says, the majority of censorship arguments have been in favour of the practice in children's literature, at least in terms of there being strict guidelines for the writing and publishing of children's literature. This stands in contrast to adult literature, in which during 300 years of debate, the majority of arguments have opposed censorship of any form. Thus, those books that are formally published as Young Adult literature are a part of a prescriptive moral order created for people of that age in particular. Consequently, defining Young Adult literature as anything that young adults read glosses over that literature which, historically, has been intentionally produced and marketed as part of the prescriptive moral order that comprises youth culture.

An additional complexity exists when defining Young Adult literature. some books, particularly during the middle part of this century, were not specifically written and/or marketed to adolescents initially, but their youthful content and their interest for youth resulted in these books becoming appropriated by the Young Adult market. Thus, over time these 'adult' books became a part of youth culture as well, and were inclding in 'Teen' or 'Young Adult' sections of some bookstores and libraries.[3] Consequently, when I use the term 'Young Adult' in this dissertation, I am refering to books written, and/or published, and/or marketed, and/or appropriated for adolescents.[4]

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[2] Note that Macleod (1994) does not differentiate between Children's Literature and Young Adult literature; rather she combines the two under the heading of Children's Literature.
[3] Examples of these 'adult' books apprpriated for the Young Adult market that I included in my analysis are *Lord of the Flies* (1954), *Animal Farm* (1946), and *Catcher in the Rye* (1951).
[4] Similarly, some books originally written and/or published as books for 'children' may be appropriated by the Young Adult market as well.

Thus, as we walk over to the Young Adult section of the bookstore, we know that we will likely find a predominance of books that have been written both *for* and *about* people who are no longer considered children, but not yet considered adults either. This section of the bookstore has a number of different subsections. One of these subsections is behind glass, with a sign indicating that these books are collector's items. The books in this subsection are very old, dating as far back as the 17th century. Of course, concepts of adolescence as a distinct stage in life did not exist at this point in history, so books would have been written for 'children' in general and not 'adolescents' or 'young adults' in particular. The titles seem strange, considering that these books are intended for young people. One title, dated 1700 and written by author James Janeway, is very long and sounds a bit morbid: *A token for children: Being an exact account of the conversion, holy and exemplary lives & joyful deaths of several young children to which is added: A token for the children of New England.* "Joyful deaths" of young children? "Holy and exemplary lives"? Looking at the title we can surmise what the book is about. It clearly has a religious focus, and appears as though its intent is a moral lesson for the children reading it. It has the form of an instruction book, or a biography, rather than a fictional story. Of course, the time period in which it was written was characterized by the growth of Puritan religious doctrine, in which a concern with the original sin of all people, including children, and with the salvation of the soul, was central to their beliefs and practices. Protestantism, in the early Puritan form, removed the priestly intermediaries and insisted that all believers could communicate with God directly. More importantly, believers had the right (and the obligation) to read and interpret His words for themselves. Protestantism encouraged literacy, and this extended to children, who also had to be prepared for the salvation of their souls. Accordingly didactic, religious literature for children predominates in the books from this era, in which "instruction centered around proper modes of behavior and preparation for death" (Cline & McBride, 1983, p. 16).

During the 17th and 18th centuries, changes in perceptions of childhood were occurring. Philosophers Locke and Rousseau suggested that childhood was quite distinct from adulthood. In terms of literature, that philosophical assumption meant that childhood required a distinct literature corresponding to children's distinct interests and thought processes. It was during the 18th century that John Newbury, a British author, began to publish books specifically for children, wherein didacticism dictated the content.[5]

Books dated near the end of the 18th century continue to focus on religious instruction, but some are more secular, depicting instruction in social behaviour and appropriate conduct (according to the standards of the British upper-class), preparing young people for both life after death and life after childhood (Lystad, 1980). A few books are written as stories rather than as instruction books which reflects the emergence of a larger middle-class reading public, and the rise of the novel, trends that continued into the 19th century.

As a result of the growing knowledge and influence of Locke's and Rousseau's philosophies of childhood, in the early 19th century children came to be seen in a more positive light, as being generally good, but requiring guidance in order to develop sound moral character (Macleod, 1994).[6] Literature for young people from this period of time reflects many of the norms and ideals that governed middle-class life. North American literature for the young is interesting for what is missing--any references to expansion into the wilderness of the Western United States, slavery, industrialization, and urbanization (Macleod, 1994),. Both what *is* included and what *is not* included in children's literature illustrate the middle-class ideals of the 19th century (and beyond), in a picture of the world that was intentionally being created for young readers. "Children's books do not mirror their culture, but they do always, no matter how indirectly, convey some of its central truths" (Macleod, 1994, p. viii). Some of the central truths in a culture are based on social ideals and moral intent. Thus, via the gaps in children's literature during the 19th century, the publishing world was engaging in a more covert form of didacticism than in earlier children's literature, what I call '*didacticism through strategic denial*'--presenting a distorted picture of the world in order to attain certain moral ends. What were those moral ends? The larger social context was one of industrialization and urbanization, considered by many people at the time as causing a host of social ills. Some of the efforts of social reformers at this time were designed to recreate social life as it existed prior to these changes. Perhaps by strategically ignoring urban life, factory work, and everything thought to go along with them, that is by pretending in literature they did not exist, these social processes would be halted and people would choose to return to the life of the past.

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[5] In fact, there is now a Newbury Award for American Children's Literature, named after the author John Newbury.

[6] As described in the last chapter, Locke perceived children as lumps of clay that were molded by society. Rousseau perceived children as pure and innocent, and the process of growing up as destroying that purity.

Children's books from the 19th century have more of a focus on social, rather than religious, behaviour--that is, the social conduct needed to achieve success in adulthood (Lystad, 1980). They demonstrate how adhering to the Protestant work ethic will bring success in work for boys, and for girls, success in the transition from child to wife (Cline & McBride, 1983). For girls, during the 19th century the transition was from one subordinate role to another subordinate role (child to wife). For boys, the transition was from a subordinate role to a dominant role (child to husband/father/worker).

More books for and about children, in the form of novels, appear over the course of the 19th century, and gradually involve entertainment value in addition to moral education (Cline & McBride, 1983). For example, Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, and Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* were written during the 19th century. Series novels for children also appear. These include series by the Edward Stratemeyer Syndicate, such as the "Rover Boys" (published from 1899-1930 with more than 5 million copies sold), the "Bobbsey Twins", "Tom Swift", and the "Hardy Boys" and "Nancy Drew". Another prolific serial author was Gilbert Patten, who wrote 856 novelettes about college athlete Frank Merriwether beginning in 1895. Horatio Alger wrote 116 rags-to-riches stories beginning in 1867, which sold between 100 million and 400 million copies worldwide. These series novels were immensely popular from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, although they garnered considerable criticism for being too simple, for not containing a moral message, and for emphasizing the present over the future (Cline & McBride, 1983).

Books from the early part of the 20th century are part of what is referred to as the "golden period" of children's literature (Macleod, 1994, p. 178). Still in the collector's section of the bookstore, there is a substantial increase in the number of books available. This was a time characterized by rapid expansion as publishing houses created separate children's divisions. It is important to note, however, that although some adult and some children's books of the time feature adolescent characters, a distinct Young Adult literature did not yet exist (Irwin & Eyerly, 1988).

Adult books from the 1920s feature greater *realism*, that is, more of a focus on the world as it was instead of an idealized portrayal of the world as authors and publishers thought it should be. However, realism still is not a part of novels for young people at this time, although librarians and educators were already calling for more realistic novels for young readers (Cline & McBride, 1983; Hutchinson, 1978; Macleod, 1994). Young people themselves were writing letters to authors and publishers asking for more stories that were about their own lives (Hutchinson, 1978). Looking at books for young people in the 1920s, we can see a focus on the future--hard work, social mobility, and material affluence (Macleod, 1994). More entertainment, and less moral instruction, is evident. Middle-class life during the "Roaring Twenties" illustrated that the Protestant work ethic could result in material affluence. With the entrenchment of industrialization and the rapidly rising stock market, there were countless examples of young men who had started with nothing and had become affluent--summed up in the Horatio Alger literature.

Still in the collector's section of the bookstore, but now moving to the 1930s, books about and, for the first time, *for* Young Adults in particular appear (Irwin & Eyerly, 1988; Macleod, 1994). Titles include *Sue Barton, Student Nurse* and *Let the Hurricane Roar*. These are books about the present rather than the future, the experience of adolescence itself (Lystad, 1980). Many books from this time are *family stories*, in which family relations are portrayed in a positive and harmonious light. Also common are stories in which adolescents stray beyond the boundaries of the family to become a part of the larger community, as volunteers, as neighbours, and as friends;

the plots of these books also focus on the positive nature of this experience (Macleod, 1994). Families and communities portrayed in these fictional stories are cohesive. This is understandable, considering in the 1930s the stock market crashed and the Great Depression hit. Families were having to work together in order to survive, and were having to find gratification in something other than material affluence. Looking at the books in the collector's section, the link between young people's literature and the larger social world is clear.

> Books of the 1920s conveyed the nervous energy of a society eager for success and achievement in the material world, while 1930s fiction spoke of a society hunkered down to wait out hard times, returning for reassurance to family and community, taking what comfort it could in human warmth, and enduring, on the whole, with tolerance and good humor. (Macleod, 1994, p. 172)

The second subsection in the Young Adult section of the bookstore is not behind glass, but rather is an open set of shelves. These books also look old, but certainly not as old as the books in the first section. Most of them are hardcovers, with colored illustrations on the covers, and sometimes within the books as well. There a large numbers of books in this section, more than in the first section. They depict post-World War II teenage middle-class life--high school, dating, and popularity (Hutchinson, 1978). They are characterized by optimism and a lack of anything too controversial or serious, suggesting that they might have been written to please parents and teachers. Books that might be of interest to girls have titles like *Seventeen* (by Maureen Daly), these are clearly romance novels. Books that might be of interest to boys are about cars (for example *Hot Rod* and *Street Rod* by H. G. Felsen) and sports (for example *Yea! Wildcats* by John Tunis) (Cline & McBride, 1983; Reed, 1994). In their book about how to write Young Adult novels, Irwin and Eyerly (1988) point out that during the 1950s, there were very strict rules about writing Young Adult novels--no dirty words, no explicit sexual situations, and no challenges to the values of the establishment. As a result, Macleod (1994) suggests that Young Adult books said little about social realities of the time. Cline and McBride (1983) concur, saying Young Adult books of the 1940s and 1950s featured "protagonists...too good to be real" (p. 26).

As described in the previous chapter, World War II brought changes to lives of adolescents, in terms of employment, income, and visibility. After the war, removal from production, segregation in age-graded schools for longer periods of time, and the calculations of the youth leisure industry contributed to the emergence of the 'teenager' and a distinct youth culture. Products for youth began to flood the market, including Young Adult novels (Carlsen, 1978). This was also a time when there was an expansion of the paperback industry which increased the availability of books for adolescents. Comparing the prices on the hardcovers and the paperbacks, the paperbacks are far less expensive, and thus could be purchased in larger quantities by libraries, schools, and adolescents themselves.

Parents, teachers, librarians, writers, and publishers began to pay close attention to Young Adult literature as well. Many surveys of youth reading were conducted at this time (Hutchinson, 1978). For teachers and librarians, these surveys provided information about what books youth were reading. For writers and publishers, these surveys provided information about the kinds of books youth wanted to read. For parents, these surveys gave them an indication about the nature of the content their children were being exposed to. Attention was also paid to Young Adult novels in professional journals (Reed, 1994), and the first critique of the new category of popular literature appeared in 1955, written by an educator named Richard Alm (Hutchinson, 1978). Alm suggested that Young Adult novels were mindless, and were wasting the time of adolescents that could be better spent on more 'serious' literature that would challenge their minds.

Richard Alm's critique of Young Adult literature opened the floodgates. Teen novels soon were widely criticized for not being thought-provoking, and for providing a false picture of life--that is, they were criticized for being 'fluff' (Hutchinson, 1978). Demands were made by parents, teachers, and adolescents themselves for more mature subject matter and greater realism (Hutchinson, 1978; Irwin & Eyerly, 1988). The idealized world presented in Young Adult novels was distant from the real world that adolescents and their parents were living in. For example the civil rights movements and the women's movements starting in the late 1950s were not part of Young Adult literature. There were serious social issues that had emerged that adults were having to deal with, and that adults of the future would have to deal with. If one of the functions of

Young Adult literature was to prepare adolescents for their adult lives, the simplistic and distorted literature at the time would be ill-equipped to do so (Macleod, 1994).

Moving to the third subsection in the Young Adult section in the bookstore, we primarily see paperbacks, although after all this time the covers are worn, the pages are falling out, and the low-quality pages are yellowed and torn. The number of books in this section are overwhelming--books almost as far as the eye can see! Titles include *The Outsiders, Jazz Country, Drop Out,* and *The Chocolate War*, and are dated from the 1960s and 1970s. The pictures on the front of the books are almost entirely of teenagers, most of them looking somewhat antagonistic or unhappy. Looking through the stories, we see that the realism that had been incorporated into adult novels in the 1920s had finally come to characterize Young Adult novels as well (Macleod, 1994; Reed, 1994; Cline & McBride, 1983). I use the term Young Adult specifically now, because many of these books have 'YA' stamped on the spine. The stories are about sexuality, parental divorce, feelings of alienation, conflicts with others, drug abuse, and many more social and individual problems, things that surveys at the time found teenagers were particularly concerned about in their own lives, and wanted to read more about (Hutchinson, 1978). These *problem novels* differ from earlier novels in terms of greater realism in the following ways: (a) characters are primarily lower-class rather than middle-class; (b) homes and other surroundings are portrayed as less-than-idyllic, as characterized by conflict and difficulties; (c) colloquial language is used--that is, cursing and slang; and (d) the modes of story-telling focus more on irony and tragedy rather than comedy and romance (Nilsen & Donelson, 1993). Many feature adult-free worlds (such as S.E. Hinton's *The Outsiders*), while others feature worlds characterized by youth fighting against incompetent adults (such as Bel Kaufman's *Up the Down Staircase*). Around 1970, Young Adult books began to be separated from children's books in bookstores, which Donelson and Nilsen (1989) describe as "the single most important event to have happened in Young Adult publishing over the last two decades" (p. 407). Sales of Young Adult novels soon tripled.

As problem novels came to predominate, debates over censorship escalated (Macleod, 1994). For some adults, the realism of Young Adult novels had become too real, or as some suggested, had progressed beyond reality to sensationalism. By the late 1970s the issue of censorship contributed to a decline in problem novels, and the purchase and/or use of Young Adult books in some school libraries and classrooms was limited (Reed, 1994).

In the final subsection in the Young Adult section of the bookstore, there are books dated from the 1980s onward. These are exclusively paperback, but made of higher-quality pages than the books in the last section. Pictures on the covers are of youth, presumably the main characters in the stories. There is an abundance of formula fiction in the form of adolescent series romance novels. There is a decline in alienated youth characters and a return to stories with adults and families included (Macleod, 1994). These books differ from those in the previous section by (a) relying less on shock and titillation; (b) featuring greater optimism; (c) having an expanded world view; (d) featuring less stereotyping: (e) presenting a more balanced view of parents; and (f) providing more sophisticated solutions to social problems (Nilsen & Donelson, 1993). However, some might say that the changes in Young Adult literature of the 1980s are for the worse, not the better. For example, analyzing some of the romance novels, Christian-Smith (1990) suggests that publishers caved into the pressures exerted by the Moral Majority and the New Right. The result, she says, are teen romance novels with gender-stereotyped characters and unrealistic plots similar to teen romance novels of the 1940s.

Debates over the content of Young Adult literature continued through the 1980s. On one side of the debate were groups in favour of maintaining the innocence of the 1940s and 1950s and utilizing censorship in contemporary Young Adult novels. On the other side of the debate were groups critical of censorship and the return to a lack of realism in Young Adult novels; this side of the debate frequently included teenagers themselves.

Books written in the 1990s have some balance of realism and innocence (Cart, 1996). Significant individual and social issues are represented in Young Adult novels, but without the degree of sensationalism that became characteristic of problem novels of the 1970s. Formula fiction, which expanded during the 1980s, continues to thrive. These include suspense/horror series (such Christopher Pike's un-titled series and R. L. Stine's *Fear Street*), science fiction series (such as *Star Wars: Young Jedi Knights*), and sports series (for example, one series focuses on a teen hockey league). The dominance of series books over single-title books at this time is amazing; there is shelf after shelf of series novels. One benefit of series novels, for the publishers, is that readers become loyal to a particular series, and then continue purchasing each new book that is released within that series. A particular series is easily recognizable by the series title and standardized cover art, which means that readers can quickly make their purchase without straying glances to books not in that series. Another benefit of series novels, this time for the readers, is that because these series represent formula fiction, the stories are predictable and reliable. Readers know, in advance, what the basic plot framework will be. The details of the story may vary across the individual books, but the basic components of the plot are consistent, governed by publisher guidelines supplied to the authors. Research done on adult series romance novels, such as those by "Harlequin" and "Silhouette", suggests that formula fiction enables the reader to not only know what the basic plot will be, but also how the story will make them feel, satisfying an emotional need (Radway, 1984; Thurston, 1987). Some Young Adult series feature the same set of core characters in each book, so that readers can follow those characters throughout the series, and be caught up in the experiences of those characters.

Summary

Looking through the Young Adult section in the bookstore, we can see that Young Adult reading has undergone many changes in its history. Initially there was no Young Adult literature per se, only literature for 'young people' in general. In part, this was due to the fact that the concept of adolescence had not yet been constructed--that is, there were no Young Adults to write a distinct literature for. People of that age group who did know how to read would have read the same books read by their parents or grandparents. Literature for young people was originally didactic in nature, focusing first on religious salvation and then on appropriate social conduct.

During the 20th century the publishing market has seen an expansion in children's literature and the creation of Young Adult literature, paralleling the discovery of the teenager and the creation of a youth culture. Young Adult literature was initially overly-idealistic and optimistic, and was criticized for its lack of realism. The pendulum then swung and Young Adult novels focused on the many problems of adolescence, in a way that many people described as sensationalistic. More recently, the structure and content of the Young Adult category of literature has again shifted. As the world continues to change, changes in Young Adult literature will likely also continue.

Having explored youth culture past and present, and now having looked through a part of that youth culture, the Young Adult section of a bookstore, we have a fairly detailed picture of young people and the books being made available to them. Before we go on to the Boys' World, however, we must determine exactly what the Boys' World is, and what researchers currently know about it. To determine these things, we must enter the academic realm.

CHAPTER 4--OUR THIRD STOP: THE WORLD OF MASCULINITY

To speak of masculinity is to speak of gender. Not sex, but gender. The term *sex* refers to an individual being biologically male or female. The genetic determination of sex occurs at the moment of conception, when the egg (which carries an 'X' chromosome) is fertilized by a sperm (which may carry either an 'X' or a 'Y' chromosome). If the egg is fertilized by a sperm carrying an 'X', the resulting embryo carries 'XX', and is genetically female. If the egg is fertilized by a sperm carrying a 'Y', the resulting embryo carries 'XY', and is genetically male. However, in daily life we do not have access to someone's genetic pattern, and certain genetic and other physical anomalies may occur. Consequently, in daily practice biological maleness or femaleness is determined by more apparent signals, such as the presence or absence of a penis, or the presence or absence of breasts. The term *gender*, in contrast, does not refer to being biologically male or female, but rather being socially male or female, based on the constellation of traits, behaviours, and activities that have come to be associated with being male or female in a given culture at a given point in time. *Sex*, it is assumed remains relatively fixed (although the situation of transsexuals and intersexed individuals points to the normative status of this assumption); *gender* varies among individuals, and across time and place. Masculinity refers to gender, not to sex; it refers to constellations of traits, behaviours, and activities associated with being male. The Boys' World is the realm of traits, behaviours, and activities that are associated with being male in our culture--the Boys' World is one of masculinity. Thus, on our journey to that world, we will be seeing and studying masculinity. What have others found on their journeys there?

The range of research about masculinity is extensive, so it is not possible to thoroughly address all of it within a single chapter. Thus, the research reviewed in this chapter must be considered within the context of this particular research project, an analysis of constructions of masculinity in Young Adult novels for boys from the 1940s to the 1990s. While I try to demonstrate the diversity of research literature about masculinity, my focus is on topic areas of relevance to the specific journey we are taking. The chapter begins with a discussion of how masculinity has emerged as both a research and a practical issue--and why it is an important area of study. The next section of the chapter defines the conceptual arena. How has masculinity been defined in the past, what types of definitions are most commonly utilized today, and where have contemporary ideas about masculinity come from? The following section of the chapter reviews the different approaches that have been used to study masculinity, along with a description of their shortcomings. That leads to the final section of this chapter, in which I describe how this particular journey will fill in the gaps that exist in masculinity research.

Masculinity As An Issue

Thinking and talking about masculinity is not unique to this time in history, the close of the 20th century. Masculinity has been a 'concern' through much of Western history. However, the nature of that concern has changed. At the close of the 20th century, masculinity has become largely an *ideological* concern having pragmatic consequences, something that needs to be questioned, examined, understood, and changed. The pragmatic consequences of masculinity as an ideology are diverse, and different societal groups emphasize various consequences. Thus, many feminists suggest the pragmatic consequences include violence against women, inequalities in job opportunities, and an unequal household division of labour. Many men's rights groups suggest that the pragmatic consequences include unfair child custody arrangements following divorce, wherein mothers continue to be awarded physical custody. Gay rights organizations say that the pragmatic consequences of the ideology of masculinity include the subordination and discrimination of gay men in society.

In contrast to the contemporary ideological concerns, although there was some questioning of what constituted masculinity earlier in history, the central issue was a more *pragmatic* concern, that is a concern in daily social practice. The pragmatic concern of the past was largely unidimensional, focusing on ensuring the reproduction of idealized or hegemonic forms of masculinity in young boys.[1] For example, the Boy Scout Movement was created by

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[1] The term *hegemonic* can be thought of as meaning dominant, powerful, or "culturally exalted" (Connell, 1995, p. 76). Thus, hegemonic forms of masculinity are those forms of masculinity that, as ideals, are most legitimized in a given culture at a given time.

Robert Baden-Powell because of social changes that were perceived as interfering with the male coming-of-age process.

> 'The Wilderness is gone, the Buckskin Man is gone, the painted Indian has hit the trail over the Great Divide, the hardships and privations of pioneer life which did so much to develop a sterling manhood are now but a legend in history, and we must depend upon the Boy Scout Movement to produce the MEN of the future (Daniel Carter Beard in *Boy Scouts of America*, 1914, p. 109).' (cited in Hantover, 1998, p. 104)

Industrialization had brought with it female teachers in the expanding common schools, paternal absence from the home as fathers moved into the workforce, and a prolonged period of dependence that contributed to the construction of *adolescence*.[2] These kinds of social changes were perceived by many people as a threat to the masculinity of future young men. With fathers in the labour force full-time, and the growing predominance of female common school teachers, boys lacked adult male role models at home and at school. Furthermore, the passive demands of the school environment interfered with the development of the 'natural' physical energies considered necessary for the development of manhood.

> Because the schools did not provide sufficient outlets for their natural energies and because Sunday schools were dominated by rather prissy men, these boys needed someplace to go or someone to turn to for manly guidance and direction. (Dubbert, 1979, p. 148)

To address these concerns, American boys' clubs such as the Boy Scouts and the Tribe of Woodcraft Indians were developed. The nature of this "masculine identity problem" (Dubbert, 1979, p. 148) also resulted in instructional guidebooks and articles being widely published; these manuals instructed parents, teachers, and boys themselves on the appropriate path to manhood.

Although the 'maleness' (or perceived lack of) in boys has been an issue of concern in Western history, it has only been in the last quarter century that masculinity has come to be seen as ideologically problematic, as something in need of exploration, questioning, and change rather than simply being reproduced. For much of the 20th century, masculinity has been relatively invisible and less in question compared to femininity. Masculinity has been the norm, and femininity has been the Other, the one to be questioned and explained (Easthope, 1986). The invisible, unquestioned nature of masculinity has enabled it to retain its power as the 'human' norm in our culture, and in fact, in much of the world.[3] One of the leading researchers in the area of masculinity, Michael Kimmel, came upon this realization in his own life, following a classroom exchange.

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[2] A detailed discussion of the changes accompanying the process of industrialization can be found in the chapter on the social construction of adolescence in this dissertation.

> When he [Michael Kimmel] looked in the mirror in the morning, he saw, as he put it, "a human being: universally generalizable. The generic person." What had been concealed--that he possessed both race and gender--had become strikingly visible. As a white man, he was able not to think about the ways in which gender and race had affected his experiences. (Kimmel & Messner, 1998, p. xiv)

Connell (1993) attributes the transition from the invisibility to the visibility of masculinity in social and academic thought to both the women's movement and the gay liberation movement, both of which caused hegemonic forms of masculinity to be called into question. It is the resistance of those in subordinated groups, such as women and gay men, that challenges those in dominant positions to self-examine and reflect on themselves. As a result of the initiation of this kind of reflection, the decade 1983-1993 saw more than fifty research-based books and even more articles published in English about men and masculinity, a dramatic increase (Donaldson, 1993).

What Is Masculinity?

Types of Definitions

The way that masculinity is defined in research and in social practice affects the type of research that is done and the type of social practice that is carried out. Existing research and social practice about masculinity indicates diverse definitions of the concept of masculinity. Some definitions are *essentialist*. Such definitions portray masculinity as an essence or a core characteristic (Connell, 1995). The nature of that essence varies from definition to definition. Thus, at various times and in various places, masculinity has been defined as essentially aggressive, or essentially violent, or essentially competitive. Essentialist definitions can be found in biological research, which draws on the idea of genetic and/or hormonal influence. For example, a substantial body of biological research explores the link between testosterone levels and male aggression. Essentialist definitions can also be found in the field of sociobiology, which draws on the idea of evolution. Sociobiologists frequently explain many aspects of 'essential' male behaviour, such as aggression and polygamous sexuality, in terms of the evolutionary drive to pass on one's genetic material to successive generations. The field of anthropology sometimes utilizes essentialist definitions of masculinity, but rather than focusing on biology as an explanation for male behaviours, draws on the idea of cultural necessity (such as man as warrior or man as hunter). Essentialist definitions are also featured within some types of feminism. For example, what has sometimes been labeled as 'cultural feminism' proposes that men are not only inherently aggressive, but also inherently violent. Essentialist definitions have frequently been criticized on the basis of faulty assumptions (such as a misunderstanding of evolution) or faulty research (such as inferring causation from correlation) (Kimmel & Messner, 1998).

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[3] It is important to note that the masculine as the generic 'human' is, however, predominantly *white* masculinity. For a discussion of the relationship between race and hegemonic masculinity, see Bederman (1995).

Positivist definitions of masculinity focus on what men are actually like (Connell, 1995). This type of definition characterizes many of the Masculinity/Femininity scales used by psychologists. Such scales consist of a list of various personal traits, and the individual may, for example, check off those traits that are characteristic of him/her. Certain traits on these gender inventories are considered characteristic of masculinity, some characteristic of femininity, and others characteristic of androgyny.[4] Once the inventory has been completed, the individual receives a measure, or a score, indicating how masculine, feminine, or androgynous he/she is. Pleck (1981) and Connell (1995) criticize this definition because it presumes categories of 'men' and 'women' as coherent blocks, and ignores variations among men and among women, as well as similarities between men and women. It has also been criticized for ignoring the role of society in the construction and reproduction of gender.

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[4] Androgyny refers to the relatively equal presence of both masculine and feminine traits.

> Such a model was ahistorical and suggested a false cultural universalism, and was therefore ill equipped to help us understand the ways in which sex roles change, and the ways in which individuals modify these roles through the enactments of gender expectations. Most telling, however, was the way in which the...model ignored the ways in which definitions of masculinity and femininity were based on, and reproduced, relationships of power....Power dynamics are an essential element in both the definition and enactments of gender. (Kimmel & Messner, 1998, pp. xviii-xix)

The weakness of the dichotomised approach is that males and females are seen as non-resistant "static containers of behaviors and attitudes" (Kimmel & Messner, 1998, p. xviii). In reality critics say men and women are creative participants in the world around them, a world that is characterized by changing structures and relations of power.

Researchers and participants in social practice also use *normative* definitions in their work. Normative definitions of masculinity are based upon ideals of what men ought to be. For example, the organization Promise Keepers suggests a certain constellation of traits and behaviours that men should aspire to, such as family leader and moral guardian. Their corresponding social movement is based on encouraging men to adhere to these ideals. Another example of normative definitions was the 1970s injunction discussed in the media that men were supposed to become the New Man, who was strong, yet sensitive. This normative prescription was one of the more benign responses to the resurgent women's movement. Popular self-help books told men how to become this New Man, or told women how to turn their men into the New Man.[5]

Connell (1995) suggests that a good example of this type of definition of masculinity is seen in the following well-known description: (a) the Sturdy Oak; (b) the Big Wheel; (c) No Sissy Stuff; and (d) Give 'em Hell, found in David and Brannon (1976). "The Sturdy Oak" refers to being strong, confident, self-reliant, and tough. It includes physical strength and athletic prowess. "The Big Wheel" refers to the attainment of success and status through competition against other men and against oneself. A man can become a Big Wheel through occupation, income, athletic prowess, or sexual prowess. "No Sissy Stuff" encompasses a stigma of anything female. To be male is to "be...not like girls" (David & Brannon, 1976, p. 13). In particular, it entails hiding one's emotions, other than anger. "Public displays of emotion--other than anger, of course, which is appropriate for a strong, aggressive male--lead to a rapid decline in prestige" (p. 49), making a male "no 'better' than a woman" (p. 49). "Give 'em Hell" suggests aggression and violence. "It increases one's masculinity to be *thought* of as being aggressive and violent, even if one never actually is so" (p. 199). Men's violence toward one another can be seen in assaults, sports, and war. David and Brannon acknowledge that very few men can perfectly meet the requirements of these ideal types. What is most important, they say, is that a man *tries* to match *at least some* of it. Connell (1995) suggests that normative definitions have a limited scope. Although it is important to explore cultural norms governing ideals of masculinity, because only a minority of men actually meet these ideals, this is an inadequate way of developing a thorough understanding of masculinity.

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[5] For example, see Warren Farrell's *The Liberated Male* (1974).

The use of positivist or normative definitions of gender contributes to structures of social inequality. People who are labeled and put into blocks, or who select themselves into their own blocks, may suffer the consequences socially and culturally of being in the 'wrong' blocks. For example, some child psychologists now utilize the term 'Gender Identity Disorder' to refer to children whose characteristics and behaviours are in opposition to gender norms or gender-appropriate ratings on scales measuring masculinity and femininity. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV* (1994) used by the American Psychiatric Association includes 'Gender Identity Disorder' as one of the sexual and gender disorders. For adults, a diagnosis requires that the individual feel 'trapped' in a body of the wrong sex. However, when applied specifically to children, a diagnosis arises simply from the child's failure to adhere to normative definitions of masculinity or femininity.[6] For the purposes of this discussion, I will describe a hypothetical boy who would fit the diagnostic criteria for 'Gender Identity Disorder':

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[6] For the full diagnostic criteria, see Section 302.85 of the DSM-IV.

> Bobby is a little boy who: (a) has fun playing dress-up in Mommy's old clothes or high heels; (b) prefers playing female roles in make-believe play (such as pretending to be a nurse); (c) would rather play "girls" games like house and Barbies instead of "rough-and-tumble" play; (d) has more female playmates than male; and (e) has siblings who make fun of him for his play preferences or parents who are uncomfortable with his behaviour.

Consequently, boys whose parents consider him effeminate (for example, because he likes to play with Barbie and paint his fingernails) or girls whose parents consider her butch (for example, because she would rather play football than play with dolls), can be taken to a psychologist or therapist for treatment to solve this perceived problem. These children do not fit into the normative containers of masculinity and femininity, and therefore require treatment to make them fit into gender-normative blocks.

Semiotic definitions describe masculinity in terms of its symbolic contrast with femininity. In this approach masculinity is seen as the unmarked term, and femininity is the Other, the one with something missing. Both masculinity and femininity are perceived as existing on a symbolic level, and thus can be studied by analyzing individual texts. For example, Lacanian psychoanalytic theory utilizes this approach in defining masculinity. For Lacan, the phallus is the signifier that women "lack". However, this type of definition ignores the concrete social world in which symbols are embedded (Connell, 1995). While masculinity and femininity can be considered ideological constructs that are conceptual in nature, they are constructed in social practice and are enacted by real men and women living in the social world. That is, they have concrete results. *Social semiotics* is a derivative of the semiotic approach that Connell (1995) does not address, but which does recognize the concrete social world in which symbols are embedded.[7]

All of these types of definitions are limited according to Connell (1995). He proposes that masculinity is *both* a personal issue and an institutional issue. Consequently, Connell defines masculinity as:

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[7] A thorough discussion of social semiotics is found in the next chapter.

> ...simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture. (Connell, 1995, p. 71)

That is, masculinity exists at the structural level, the interpersonal level, and the individual level. Doyle (1995, p. 2) makes a similar suggestion, saying that what he calls the "male experience" exists at both a public level and a private level. At the *public level,* the male experience is embodied in gender roles-- "all the expectations and norms, prescriptions and proscriptions, and sanctions and stereotypes placed on a male by his culture". At the *private level,* the male experience is embodied in a man's gender identity--the "mental and psychological processes" involved in being a man.

Michael Kaufman (1998) utilizes the analytical distinctions of structural, interpersonal, and individual levels in his research on men's violence. According to Kaufman, "...the essential question for us is not whether men are predisposed to violence [which would require an essentialist or a positivist definition of masculinity] but *what society does with this violence* [italics added]", and what role society's reaction then plays in violence enacted in men's lives and how men perceive themselves and violence (1998, p.5).

These more recent definitions treat masculinity as a social construction, in terms of men's places in the social order, assigned roles, and meanings attached to those roles.[8] The social construction of masculinity thereby affects individual men's experiences of being male in society. At the same time, because gender relations, practices, and effects are dynamic, so is masculinity. Furthermore, because the experiences of these elements vary for different groups of men in society, masculinity is not singular, but plural. These two ideas, masculinity as historically embedded and masculinity as plural, inform the definitions utilized by many contemporary researchers in the field.

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[8] The social constructionist perspective is addressed in Chapter 2, regarding the creation of ideas of childhood, adolescence, and youth culture.

A Pluralistic & Historical Definition

A number of contemporary researchers in the area of masculinity (for example, Brittan, 1989 and Segal, 1990) concur with Connell (1993; 1995) who proposes that masculinity is embedded within institutions, economic structures, and social relations, all of which have histories. Brittan's (1989) definition of masculinity emphasizes historicity. He says that masculinity refers to "those aspects of men's behaviour that fluctuate over time" (p. 3). However, while the specific nature of masculinity changes over time and place, it is important to note that the substance of male power does not. Male power is consistently justified and naturalized in many parts of society, regardless of how masculinity is enacted over time.

> What has changed is not male power as such, but its form, its presentation, its packaging. In other words, while it is apparent that styles of masculinity may alter in relatively short time spans, the substance of male power does not. (Brittan, 1989, p. 2)

However, while male power remains, it fluctuates, is negotiated, and is cross-cut by race, class, and sexual orientation. This makes masculinity plural. That is, there are different forms of masculinity.

Few would disagree with the statement that "Men's lives are not identical." Some men are wealthy, while others are poor. Some are exclusively heterosexual, some are exclusively homosexual, and some fall at an intermediate point along this continuum. Some are members of the ethnocultural and racial majority, while others are members of ethnocultural and racial minorities. Some are construction workers, while others are day care workers. Thus, if masculinity is defined as being enmeshed within institutions, economic structures, and social relations, and if men are differentially distributed across these elements of society, then there must be multiple forms of masculinity. This idea is reflected in a growing body of masculinity research that is specific to particular social groups. For example, Kimmel and Messner's (1998) anthology includes research specific to African-American men, Chicano men, working-class men, and gay men, among others. The specificity of particular manifestations and experiences of masculinity is, however, anchored in the overriding fact of normative heterosexuality.

> ...When we talk about the specificity of a masculinity, it is always in terms of its relationship to the hierarchical heterosexual structuring of gender relationships. My position is that it is always in the process of being reinterpreted and subverted--what gives the appearance of permanence is the way in which it is taken for granted and reproduced as if it were normal and natural. (Brittan, 1989, p. 18)

Plurality goes hand-in-hand with historicity when defining masculinity. The recognition of the significance of plurality and historicity of gender in the context of normative heterosexuality has been present in feminist research about femininity for some time. In that body of research literature there are numerous debates about the significance of race, sexual orientation, class, age, and the idea or ideals of femininity and the enactment of femininity. For example, at an early date in the resurgence of the women's movement in the 20th century the initial absence of the unique experiences of African-American women was recognized and addressed in the academic arena as well as within feminist practice (e.g. Beal, 1970). By the late 1980s, in-depth reviews of feminist theory and practice regarding plurality proliferated. For example Elizabeth Spelman's *Inessential Women: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought* (1988) discussed the various ways in which the western philosophical tradition excluded considerations of race and gender, and the complications that arise when it is recognized, so that just as there is no generic man as such, there is also no generic woman.

In comparison, research on plurality in masculinity has lagged behind somewhat, gaining a strong presence only during the last decade. In that time the idea of changing, multiple masculinities has been reflected in a number of research projects. For example, Segal (1990) conducts a cultural history of masculinities in the Western world during the 20th century, as represented in social practice, newspapers, feminist writings, popular novels, and diaries. She finds a trend toward more contradictions, inconsistencies, and diversity in Western culture during this time. Tuss (1992) looks at male literary figures in Victorian fiction, and also finds contradictions and differences as being central in their representation, even at that time.

Although there are multiple forms of masculinity, ideologically and in practice, not all are equal in terms of their places within society's power structure. Some masculinities have greater social influence than others. Hegemonic masculinity establishes its influence through some correspondence between cultural ideals and institutional power. It, too, is dynamic, changing over time and place. While only a minority of men may embody the hegemonic ideal form of masculinity, its connection with power affects the nature of all gender relations, and men in general benefit from it.

The plurality of masculinity, its historicity, and the significance of hegemony become clear when one does an overview of the range of research that has been conducted recently on the history of manhood. Each historian provides a unique timeline of masculinity, which emerges from each historian's particular combination of geographical and social foci. Various historians of manhood focus on the United States (e.g. Rotundo, 1993), England (e.g. Shoemaker, 1998), or the "Western world" in general (Connell, 1995), which affects the nature of the timeline constructed. Even within a given nation, the focus of the historian may vary; for example, Rotundo (1993) focuses on the Northern United States, while Hughes (1990) focuses on the Southern United States. Various historians focus on different racial and/or ethnocultural groups, and Bederman (1995) points out that race and hegemonic masculinity are intimately intertwined. Different social groups are analyzed; the American middle-class is the focus for some historians (Pleck & Pleck, 1980; Rotundo, 1993), while other historians choose to explore masculinity among American groups known as abolitionists (Yacovene, 1990) and Social Gospelers (Curtis, 1990). All of these variations in the research process result in diverse timelines of masculinity, thereby illustrating the plurality of masculinity. The plurality of masculinity that emerges from historical research will become clearer as an historical overview of some of this literature is provided shortly. While many unique timelines of manhood have been suggested, there is a degree of overlap among some of these timelines as well.

Because of the cultural influence of hegemonic masculinity, through the correspondence between cultural ideals and institutional power, most historians of masculinity do, indeed, focus on hegemonic masculinities. The hegemonic masculinities within a particular nation are typically those of the most powerful social groups--those in control of ideological production through their control of schools, newspapers, publishing, religion, economy, and the government. In various nations in the Western world, the powerful social groups from which hegemonic masculinity has been derived for the past several centuries have been those of the White upper- and middle-classes; hence, many historians of manhood study these social groups in particular. Thus, the plurality of masculinity is likely to be even greater than that which most historians point to, since they are not exploring the masculinities of most subordinated social groups.

In the following *meta-timeline* of manhood, the historicity of masculinity will become clear as the role of various sociohistorical events in the subsequent constructions of hegemonic masculinities is addressed. Rotundo (1993, p. 294) suggests that the decades immediately before and following 1800 show the emergence of "the metaphors that still govern our beliefs about gender at the end of the twentieth century...", and that in the 19th century, "many of the current rituals and institutions of manhood" were developed. Dubbert (1979, p. 13) also considers the 19th century to be "the masculine century". And yet, certain elements of contemporary masculinity can be traced even farther back in history, to the time of Ancient Greece and Rome (Doyle, 1995); thus, the historicity of masculinity involves not only transformations and changes, but also some continuities. We will examine some of the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity in western history discussed by various authors.

History of Hegemonic Masculinities

A 'real' man in Ancient Greece was a *Warrior-Leader*, combining physical strength and skill, courage, adventure, and loyalty to comrades in battle and to clan; he was a soldier of the utmost quality (Doyle, 1995). He was not, however, necessarily heterosexual. Heterosexual activities within marriage were certainly expected of him in order to carry on the patrilineal line through reproduction, but the epitome of 'love' was brotherly love, which frequently included homosexual activities as well--only in relationships with males could the highest facet of the soul (i.e. reason) develop, so that adult men were perceived as those being most worthy of love.

As Christianity began to spread through Europe between the 5th and 10th centuries, Doyle (1995) suggests that hegemonic masculinity was transformed into the *Spiritual Male*. The non-sexual, non-violent, spiritual leader, as evidenced by the clergy, came to be idealized. The ideal man was willing to sacrifice bodily pleasures for a higher purpose--the love of his God. By the 12th century, feudalism had become firmly established, along with a money-economy and expanded trade. A cultured aristocracy and military class became dominant social groups which rejected the non-erotic, non-sexual, and non-violent ideals of the early Christian church. Hegemonic masculinity changed with these larger social changes, and the *Chivalric Male/Knight-Soldier* was the ideal (Doyle, 1995). Like the Warrior-Leader of Ancient Greece, he had physical strength and skill, as well as loyalty to the King and to comrades. These traits were combined with the chivalric honor. An important component of such honor was an idealized love relationship with "the Lady", which was celebrated in poetry, love songs, and stories. The celebration of "the Lady" did not dislodge masculine dominance as, under feudalism, a hierarchy based on primogeniture meant that the eldest son in family would inherit the father's land, reflecting a hierarchy of males within each family and a hierarchy of males over females.

By the 15th century, Church influence had started to decline, and the early stages of commercial capitalism had created a growing middle-class (Connell, 1995; Doyle, 1995). During this century, Doyle (1995) suggests that a quest for knowledge became the defining characteristic of hegemonic masculinity in Europe. Connell (1995), however, emphasizes the *soldier* involved in overseas expansion and colonization during this time; the dominance, aggression, and violence of the Spanish Conquistador epitomizes the pursuit of control over colonized land, resources, and converts to Christianity. Overseas expansion was based upon the presumed superior rationality of European culture, and the rationality of European culture was equated with the rationality of

White European men. According to Connell, the Conquistador represented hegemonic European masculinity until the mid-17th century.

The quest for knowledge that Doyle (1995) suggests emerged during the 15th century evolved into the *Renaissance Male* of the 16th century. This form of hegemonic masculinity involved an active man, but one who was active in the pursuit of intellectual rather than physical goals--the goal of perfect rationality. The *Renaissance Male* continued his hegemony through the 17th century as well. According to Connell (1995), whose emphasis was the physical Conquistador from the 15th to the mid-17th centuries, in the mid-17th century hegemonic masculinity throughout the Western world became that of the *Land-Owning Gentry*. Such a man often sought to attain military office; he used violence as necessary in military pursuits, and maintained a strict code of honour. Another way he might be active is through entrepreneurialism within the expanding European economy that might also involve some degree of violence in competitive endeavors. The hegemony of the land-owning gentry, in Connell's timeline, continued until the turn of the 19th century.

Maclean (1980) suggests that during this time of the English Renaissance, both the military officer and the entrepreneur were honorable, brave, intelligent, and strong in body and in spirit. These characteristics of hegemonic masculinity were emphasized in diverse places within the social order of the time--in conduct books, novels, schools, and parenting discourse (Shoemaker, 1998). All of these sources portrayed manhood as bold, courageous, heroic, tough, physically strong and athletic, morally strong, and aggressive; such discourse continued until at least the mid-19th (which was the end of Shoemaker's period of analysis). One of the areas of diverging opinion was in relation to masculine aggression. While all of these various sources portrayed manhood as being aggressive, some sources defined such aggression as negative and in need of constant control, while other sources exalted the aggression of men.

In an American context, during the colonial period of agrarian patriarchy, the *Aristocrat* described by Pleck and Pleck (1980) was a cultured and intellectual land-owner. Rotundo (1993) refers to this as a time of *Communal Manhood* during which status was determined by the family into which one was born, and the degree of service provided to the larger community was the mark of manhood. It was assumed that the natural ambition, defiance, and aggression of men could be controlled by their reason, which would enable a man to contribute more to his community. These forms of hegemonic masculinity continued until the 19th century in the United States (Pleck & Pleck, 1980; Rotundo, 1993).

During the 18th century, commercial capitalism expanded in Europe, giving the middle-class an undeniable presence (Shoemaker, 1998; Connell, 1995; Doyle, 1995). Rationality and competition played a role in the middle-class man's pursuit of financial success and subsequent status (Connell, 1995; Doyle, 1995), giving rise to the *Bourgeois Male* (Doyle, 1995). In the United States, the cultured, intellectual, community-serving land-owner continued to dominate. Near the end of the 18th century, following the American Revolution, the New Republic of the United States also became characterized by a strong commercial life (Pleck & Pleck, 1980), which developed considerably in the early part of the next century.

Hegemonic American masculinity in the first half of the 19th century was that of the *Common Man*, in pursuit of the financial success and associated status that men in England had been pursuing for some time (Pleck & Pleck, 1980). He was transformed into the *He-Man* of the latter half of that century, living a strenuous life of sports and athleticism, exhibiting violence as a part of Western expansion, and collectivity in the forms of rapidly emerging men's clubs and organizations for boys (Pleck & Pleck, 1980). These qualities were also characteristic of the distinct *"Boy Culture"* that Rotundo (1990) suggests existed during this time in American history--sports, violence, competition, hierarchy, and collectivity. These qualities were also exalted as important components of masculinity in the American guidebooks being written for boys (Dubbert, 1979; Rotundo, 1990). Among adult men, Rotundo (1993) describes the *Self-Made Man* of this time period; competition, rivalry, ambition, fitness (both physical and mental), and aggression were means to the ends of financial success and Western expansion. This category of *Self-Made Man* (Rotundo, 1993) collapses the *Common Man* and the *He-Man* (Pleck & Pleck,

1980) based on their shared qualities; the ends the latter two types of men were trying to attain were different, yet the means to those ends were similar.

The salience of the fit, athletic, strong, and healthy male body during this time in American history is also emphasized by Bederman (1995) who finds evid[illegible] that the heavyweight prizefighter was considered the epitome of Americ[illegible], for both Northerners and Southeners, Blacks and Whites. Curtis (1990) ad[illegible] the idealization of the robust, healthy, and fit male body as well, but within the context of religion. The 'Social Gospelers' of the late 19th century transformed the Victorian image of a somewhat femininized-looking Jesus to that of a "man's man" (p. 72)--stronger, more robust, and more muscular. Just as Jesus bravely and relentlessly pursued social change in the face of opposition, so would the 'Social Gospelers' bravely and relentlessly pursue the solutions to the ills of American society.

The *Passionate Manhood* of the early 20th century was based, in part, on a celebration of the male body and what was perceived as being male 'nature' (Rotundo, 1993). A man was supposed to live his life fully in all of his desires and needs. Ambition, rivalry, and athleticism became ends in themselves in addition to being means to an end. These qualities enabled him to become the best provider possible for his family (Pleck & Pleck, 1980), but the pursuit of these qualities was also important in itself. A man was presumed 'naturally' competitive, athletic, and ambitious, even if those characteristics never resulted in particular ends. Connell (1995) suggests that in the 19th and 20th centuries a masculine dichotomy of dominance/skill emerged. The dominance was characteristic of aggression in its various forms (e.g. political Fascism, military and other forms of violence, and business management); in contrast, skill was characteristic of the growing expertise needed in the modernized Western world (e.g. for the use of changing technologies and increasingly complex bodies of knowledge, such as in medicine, law, and military organization and planning). While dominance and skill may sometimes exist in opposition (as in the conflicts that can emerge between the infantry and the officers within the military), they can also mesh with each other (such as in competitive team sports, which are a combination of dominance and skill).

In the latter half of the 20th century, is there a hegemonic masculinity in North American culture? The model of masculinity proposed by David and Brannon (1976), and described earlier in this chapter, is a model of hegemonic masculinity. Doyle (1995) also proposes a model of contemporary hegemonic masculinity which has striking resemblances to David and Brannon's description of almost twenty years earlier. Doyle describes five components of the contemporary North American male gender role. Similar to David and Brannon (1976), Doyle suggests that while these five components represent an ideal, and therefore no single man can exhibit all five elements simultaneously, a man must exhibit each of these traits when the situation warrants it, in order to be considered a 'real man'. First is the *antifeminine element*, which involves avoiding anything feminine, avoiding emotions, and avoiding unmanly men; this component is similar to that labeled *No Sissy Stuff* by David and Brannon (1976). Second is the *success element*. To be male is to strive for success, and to compete with other men for that success; this component is similar to that labeled *The Big Wheel* by David and Brannon. Third is the *aggressive element*, similar to David and Brannon's *Give 'em Hell!* component. Fourth is the *sexual element*, or more specifically, the heterosexual element. While Doyle assigns sexuality to its own category, David and Brannon perceive it as a part of the larger component of competition and success, and themselves presume heterosexuality. Fifth is the *self-reliant element*, which involves independence, emotional strength, and discipline; Doyle suggests that the athlete and the soldier are particularly illustrative of this component. This last component is similar to that labeled *The Sturdy Oak* in David and Brannon's work.

This glimpse into several of the many timelines of masculinity created by historians of Western cultures illustrates the magnitude of the complexity of any history of masculinity. Due to varying emphases in terms of nation and social group being studied, no two timelines of masculinity are identical; by studying different groups of men in various places doing diverse things, multiple forms of masculinity (and even plural forms of hegemonic masculinity) are brought to the surface. I have included only a handful of the different timelines of manhood constructed by historians. Further research can explore more of these varying timelines in order to more thoroughly address all of their similarities and differences, and the reasons for those similarities and differences. Emerging from such research might be a *meta-timeline* that provides a more thorough and complex understanding of the history of masculinity than anything we have at present. However, despite the plurality that has emerged from this exploration, what is clear is that masculinity is, indeed, socially and historically constructed; hegemonic masculinity is transformed along with other sociocultural transformations.

Exploring the historical transformations that affected conceptions and ideals of masculinity, and the models/conceptions of masculinity in the late 20th century, we can see the multiple levels through which masculinity exists, as acknowledged by Brittan (1989), Connell (1995), and Doyle (1995)--the structural, the interpersonal, and the individual. The multifaceted nature of manhood includes places within the social structures (e.g. the industrialized, capitalist economy), relationships among men (e.g. loyalty to one's soldier-comrades), and the individual experiences of being male (e.g. feeling of success at being masculine). Having established what masculinity is (or is not), in order to specify the focus of this project something else needs to be established. That is how masculinity has been studied, in order to situate our own approach to the Boys' World.

How Can Masculinity Be Studied?

Masculinity has been studied in a number of different ways. Connell (1993; 1995) describes three main projects regarding a science of masculinity during this century. The first project strives for *clinical knowledge*, with a foundation in psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic theory (Connell, 1995). It is linked with the field of psychology in particular, and is aimed at applied practice, such as within psychoanalytic therapy. Authors of popular self-help literature of the last decade use this kind of knowledge to tell men how to reclaim their true manhood, and thereby improve their lives.[9] The second project addresses *sex role socialization* (Connell, 1995), and was prevalent in the 1970s and 1980s (although it is still evident in the 1990s). Among other things, it reveals stereotypes, such as those contained in advertising; it emerged within the domains of psychology, sociology, and education. Frequently, its aim is to point out instances of stereotyping, in order to reduce it (for example, in school textbooks).

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[9] For example, see Robert Bly's *Iron John* (1990).

Brittan (1989) criticizes much of the recent research about masculinity, a large proportion of which is embedded within the first two projects of masculinity described by Connell (1993; 1995). Brittan says of much masculinity research:

> Most discussions of masculinity tend to treat it as if it is measurable. Some men have more of it, others less...[This implies] that masculinity is timeless and universal. (Brittan, 1989, p. 1)

In fact, Brittan suggests, masculinity exists only within history and culture, and thus is constantly in flux. Brittan's critique of masculinity research points to the significance of changes in the definitions of masculinity which have informed academic research.

The third project, which Connell (1993; 1995) suggests is the most recent, addresses masculinity as located within *discourse*.[10] The study of masculinity as cultural representation emerges from more recent developments in history, anthropology, and sociology. Historians are exploring masculinities as enmeshed in institutions, economic structures, and social relationships. For example, Mangan and Walvin (1987) explore masculine practice in the organization of such diverse domains as slavery and sport. Anthropologists are exploring the variety of cultural images of masculinity based on religion and myth (e.g. Herdt, 1981; 1982; 1984). Sociologists are exploring the constructions of masculinity in everyday life (e.g. Messner, 1990), the contradictory (e.g. Lindsay, 1997) and dynamic (e.g. Brittan, 1989) nature of gender, and the significance of differences among masculinities (e.g. Segal, 1990; Connell, 1995).

The idea of masculinity as discourse captures the way ideas surrounding gender infiltrate all aspects of daily life. David and Brannon (1976) capture the idea of discourse:

> [The norms of manhood have] an enormous and pervasive influence on the knowledge, thoughts, attitudes, and assumptions of every person who has grown up under its influence. Our culture has been dominated by males for as long as

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[10] Discourse broadly refers to a collection of social knowledge, or what Fausto-Sterling (1998) describes as "that array of happenings that covers everything from music videos, poetry, and rap lyrics, to sports, beer commercials and psychotherapy" (p. 385). A more thorough discussion of discourse can be found in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

> records exist, and every man and woman alive today has grown to maturity and developed styles of thought and stores of knowledge while as deeply immersed in the values, concerns, and emphases of the male sex role as fish in the depths of the ocean. The role's values permeate and affect what we notice and what we remember about people, what we know about the world, what we've heard about the past, what we think is 'human nature,' the questions we think to ask. (p. 2)

This paragraph captures the idea of gender as existing in discourse--it is everywhere, it surrounds us, it is in what we read, in what we watch, in what we hear, and in what we think. It is within discourse that masculinity (and femininity) is socially-constructed--that a particular place in the social order, roles, and meanings are attached to masculinity, creating the Boys' World that exists in North America at the close of the 20th century. Popular culture is a part of that discourse--part of what we hear, read, and watch--through which masculinity is constructed.

Masculinity and Popular Culture

Popular culture is one constituent of discourse which, as described earlier, can be thought of as a collection of social knowledge. Thus, a full understanding of any substantive element of social life means exploring the discourse surrounding that element, which includes looking at that element of social life within popular culture.

Some researchers (e.g. Donaldson, 1993; Easthope, 1986) suggest that producers of popular culture are some of the most influential agents in the making of hegemonic masculinity. Popular culture, researchers say, presents a dominant *masculine myth* which places particular burdens upon men.

> These people [i.e. producers of popular culture] regulate and manage gender regimes; articulate experiences, fantasies, and perspectives; reflect on and interpret gender relations. (Donaldson, 1993, p. 646).

Popular culture is involved in the creation of cultural ideals in relation to masculinity, ideals which need not correspond to the real lives of the majority of men in order to have an effect (Donaldson, 1993).

> Clearly men do not passively live out the masculine myth imposed by the stories and images of the dominant culture. But neither can they live completely outside the myth, since it pervades the culture. Its coercive power is active everywhere--not just on screens, hoardings, and paper, but inside our own heads. (Easthope, 1986, p. 167)

Masculinity has been explored in many forms of popular culture--television, music, movies, comic books, and more. Some research focuses on one form of popular culture. For example, Klumas & Marchant (1994) focus on television sitcoms, while other research focuses on multiple forms of popular culture (e.g. Easthope, 1986; Segal, 1990; Horrocks, 1995). My research project focuses on one popular cultural product, popular literature for young adults.

Masculinity and Literature

Many of what are perceived as the 'classics' in Western literature are about masculinity. The male 'coming-of-age' novel has been popular historically, as seen in Mark Twain's story of Huck Finn, now an American cultural icon. These kinds of novels have been critically discussed as examples of English or American literature, but within which the male coming-of-age process is usually transmuted into the generic progress of 'humanity' to maturity.

When masculinity and literature, or masculinity in literature, has been studied, it has frequently been within the field of literary criticism. The problem with literary criticism, at least until recently, is that novels were often explored as isolated entities, rather than as social documents embedded in the larger social world and related to other aspects of social life. Relatively recently, subfields dealing with gender issues, labeled *feminist criticism* or *gender criticism* (Showalter, 1988) have emerged; although these subfields do focus on the analysis of gender, they often fail to make an explicit link to the larger social world. Leslie Fiedler (1960) provided us with one of the first studies of masculinity in literature, *Love and death in the American novel*. Fiedler explored masculinity in 200 years of American fiction. It was not until the mid-1980s, however, that masculinity in relation to literature began to be studied with more regularity (Showalter, 1988). That masculinity is an important concept to explore in relation to literature has become increasingly accepted over the last two decades (Murphy, 1994; Showalter, 1988), but even in the 1970s, some researchers were emphasizing the importance of fictional literature in understanding masculinity (e.g. David & Brannon, 1976). Murphy (1994, p. 1) says literature can play a role "in reinforcing the assumptions about masculinity and, at times, helping to establish the norm of manhood". At other times, literature can provide "other images, other roles, other options for men and masculinity".

Some studies of masculinity and literature focus on the products of male authorship--that is, what male authors write about, and how they write about it (e.g. Schwenger, 1984; Claridge & Langland, 1990; Morgan, 1994). Other studies explore representations of masculinity, often in a single novel, or a collection of novels by particular (male) authors. For example, Bowerman (1979) looks at the portrayal of male characters in Horatio Alger's novels for boys. Sometimes explorations of masculinity in literature are part of larger issues, as in Segal's (1990) cultural history of masculinity in contemporary society.

Most analyses of representations of masculinity look at adult males. Studies that specifically address children or youth have often focused on the analysis of 'sexism' in children's literature (e.g. Stinton, 1979; Stones, 1983). More recently Tuss (1992) explored representations of young, middle-class male characters in novels and periodicals of the mid-Victorian era. While a growing body of research about boys' reading material in Victorian England exist (e.g. Bristow, 1991), research about the leisure reading of adolescent boys in *North America* during the *20th century* is much more limited; and this brings us to a description of our journey.

Masculinity is socially-constructed within the discourse that surrounds us in all aspects of our daily lives. It is within discourse that the Boys' World, as it currently exists in a North American context, is constructed. Young Adult novels for boys constitute part of this discourse, and will serve as the window through which we will look at the Boys' World and masculinity. Now, we will plan the approach.

CHAPTER 5--OUR APPROACH

The most effective way of approaching our journey arises from the questions we want to answer. Primarily, we want to enter the Boys' World, and see its fundamental structure. What is it made of? What are boys supposed to be doing, feeling, and wanting if they are a part of that world? The Boys' World is a social construction emerging from innumerable sources. We will enter the Boys' World through the window of Young Adult novels designed to appeal to boys, written from the 1940s to the present. The focus in reading the novels is to discover the constructions of masculinity within the texts. Because there is a complex relationship among popular culture, readers, and other components of the larger society, the masculinity within these novels must be explored as part of a larger structure of meaning regarding masculinity.

This chapter describes the means by which the Boys' World can be entered, and the rationale for using those particular means. This chapter comprises the 'What' and the 'How' of this project. The 'What' refers to a description of the novels selected for analysis. The 'How' refers to a description of the way that the selected novels are looked at, in terms of both a general, theoretically-based approach, as well as the specific methods and techniques of data collection and analysis.

The 'What': Historical Sampling

By selecting boys' Young Adult novels, part of the structure of meaning surrounding masculinity over time in North America will be sampled. If the structure of meaning surrounding masculinity in North America is thought of as a pie, then this analysis explores one piece of the pie. In order to know what the whole pie is like, the pie must be explored piece by piece. That is, in order to know how masculinity has been/is constructed in North America, research must explore the various places in which masculinity is/has been constructed. The Young Adult novels analyzed in this study represent just one of the places in which masculinity is constructed.[1]

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[1] Other places wherein masculinity is constructed include media and popular culture (e.g. television, film, music), the education system, religion, and sport, among others. Gender is, in fact, constructed at all levels of society, so that all of the various places wherein masculinity/femininity are constructed are too numerous to mention in this context.

The Young Adult novels to be analyzed were chosen from three different time periods: (a) 1940-1959; (b) 1960-1979; and (c) 1980-1997. These time periods were chosen on the basis of the historical line of development of the Young Adult category of literature, outlined by several literary historians (e.g. MacLeod, 1994; Irwin & Eyerly, 1988)[2]. The first time period (1940-1959) represents the beginning of a distinct Young Adult genre in the marketplace. The second time period (1960-1979) represents a turning point for Young Adult literature, with a trend toward greater realism. This time period also represents the resurgence of the women's movement, which may have had an influence on constructions of gender in Young Adult novels of the time. The third time period (1980-1997) begins at a time when significant changes to the Young Adult book market were being made, which were partly the result of censorship debates.[3] During this last time period there were important changes in the structures and interests of the women's movement, and the more overt emergence of what has been labeled by some as the men's movement. Both movements may have influenced the content of Young Adult novels.

The novels were chosen from a combination of reading interest surveys and book lists which recommend particular novels to readers, teachers, librarians, and bookstore owners as significant 'Young Adult' books. Sources include the annual Best Books list released by the American Library Association, English Journal, School Library Journal, Cline and McBride's (1983) A Guide to Literature for Young Adults, Nilsen and Donelson's (1993) Literature for Today's Young Adults, and Carlsen's (1971) Books and the Teen-Age Reader. The major criteria for the sample was that a particular book had to be included in at least two different sources for recommended Young Adult novels (keeping in mind the complexities in defining Young Adult literature, as discussed in Chapter 3). In many instances, if a book was found in one of these sources, it already had to be included in several additional sources.[4] Thus, in actuality, the majority of the novels selected were recommended by more than two sources. This method of selecting books for analysis is similar to Christian-Smith's (1990) analysis of adolescent romance novels, and Nilsen and Donelson's (1993) Honor Sampling.

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[2] For a full discussion of the historical development of young adult literature, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

[3] Censorship debates focused on the content of many of the most popular young adult novels of the 1960s and 1970s, the "problem novels". Critics of these novels suggested that the violent, sexual, and anti-authoritarian content of many of these novels was unsuitable for adolescents, and should neither be used in the classroom nor included on school library shelves. A more extensive discussion of these censorship debates can be found in Nilsen & Donelson (1993).

Ten books were selected from each of the three time periods for a total number of 30. Although some people suggest it is not possible to be an "expert" on Young Adult literature without having read dozens or even hundreds of novels, fewer are necessary for an exploratory analysis. Reading 30 Young Adult novels at least ensures an indication of constructions of masculinity during each time period. A more detailed analysis using a larger number of Young Adult novels to address this research question could be provided by future research. The 10 books from each time period were selected from the dominant sub-categories of Young Adult literature for boys during that time period, as described by historians of children's and Young Adult literature. For example, the dominant literature sub-categories for boys in the 1940s and 1950s were novels about sports, cars, and adventure.[5]

On the basis of the sources used, the selected novels comprise a *cultural market*, a distinct selection of Young Adult novels in the eyes of those who define and construct the Young Adult book market. Because these books are recommended on the basis of readership surveys and book lists intended for use by libraries, teachers, and bookstores, they are part of the formally-constructed structure of meaning surrounding masculinity in North American culture. The book lists in particular suggest these are the books youth *should* read and *will* read, if given the opportunity. This suggests that these novels represent, in part, a prescriptive moral resource constructed for youth.

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[4] For example, in order for a book to be included in Nilsen and Donelson's Honor Sampling (1993), a book had to be recommended by four other sources.

[5] A list of the 30 Young Adult novels analyzed can be found in Appendix A.

The nature of this research topic and the research question being asked results in a particular way of approaching these novels, both methodologically and theoretically. A description of this approach comprises the following section of the chapter.

Theoretical & Methodological Framework

The Boys' World is discursive in the way it has been socially-constructed, so that the framework for this research project is a *discourse analysis* informed by *social semiotics*. A discourse analysis may be thought of as:

> a cross-disciplinary method of inquiry which studies the structure of texts and considers both their linguistic and sociocultural dimensions in order to determine how meaning is constructed. (Barsky, 1993, p. 34)

While the above quotation refers to discourse analysis as a *method*, it is not a method in the same sense that, for example, surveys are a method. Within sociology it is common for method to be reduced to a set of specific techniques for data collection. In reality, however, method is more than a set of techniques; it is the entire "way in which research is conducted" (Anderson, 1996, p.474). When doing qualitative research, the "way in which research is conducted" goes beyond the techniques of data collection to the theoretical framework that informs that process. Thus, the boundaries between theory and method are indistinct. The approach that has been labeled *discourse analysis* clearly illustrates the vagueness of these boundaries. In the *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory* (Makaryk, 1993), discourse analysis is simultaneously described as both a method and a theory. It is more than a set of techniques for data collection; it is a theory based on the work of, for example, Ferdinand de Saussure, Michel Foucault, and Louis Althusser. It is a method in that it does prescribe ways to collect and analyze data.

Discourse analysis is, as Barsky (1993) suggests, a *cross-disciplinary* approach. Not only is it used in sociology, but also in history and anthropology. Its wide applicability lies in the fact that it can be used in conjunction with a variety of other theoretical/methodological approaches, one of which is semiotics, which is of particular interest in this analysis. Semiotics is often referred to as the *science of signs*. Its founder is commonly recognized as de Saussure, who suggested everything in a culture is a form of communication, or a message, analogous to language; it is within language that meaning is constituted. Thus, texts, which are compilations of messages (and which may be documentary or lived), are seen as systems of signification, part of a larger structure of meaning. The task of the researcher is to bring that structure of meaning to the surface (Tuchman, 1994; Hodge & Kress, 1988).

Language, and by extension texts, consist of chains of *signs,* which consist of the *signifier* (i.e. the word or symbol) and the *signified* (i.e. the referent). For example, the combination of the letters c-a-t is a *signifier* within the written English language. This signifier refers to a particular four-legged furry animal that meows; that animal is the *signified* component of the sign. The combination of this particular signifier and this particular signified creates a *semiotic sign*. Chains of signs are organized into *codes*, "the medium through which cultural products transmit their messages" (Monaco, cited in Christian-Smith, 1990, p. 147). Codes "tell us what to do in various situations and ... what certain things 'mean' " (Berger, 1991, p. 23). Codes can be manifested in social roles, institutions, or ideologies. In his publication *S/Z*, Barthes describes several different types of codes (Scholes, 1982). The codes in Barthes' analysis that are of particular relevance to this research project are *cultural codes* and *connotative codes*. Cultural codes "constitute the text's references to things already 'known' and codified by a culture" (Scholes, 1982, p. 100), and may be thought of in reference to intertextuality. That is, cultural codes are messages and meanings that can be found throughout a range of texts of a particular culture. For example, a novel might make reference to the "American Dream", without explaining what that is. Many readers would, however, know what is being referred to, simply because the meaning of the American Dream has come to permeate not only American culture, but other cultures as well. Connotative codes are meanings that can be grouped together into what the reader sees as *themes*; it is via these connotative codes that literary analysis can occur. For example, Christian-Smith (1990) discusses the themes (or connotative codes) that construct femininity in adolescent romance novels from 1940 to the early 1980s--that is, meanings that can be grouped together to define what femininity is. Christian-Smith's themes of femininity are romance, beautification, and sexuality. Similarly, the construction of masculinity that will be described in the next chapter can be thought of as connotative codes--meanings of masculinity that can be grouped together into themes, through *interpretation*.

> Interpretation then involves identifying the codes, analyzing their meaning and making connections between the codes in individual texts or among texts. (Christian-Smith, 1990, p. 147)

At times, connotative codes may overlap with or contain cultural codes. For example, a theme of "success" in defining masculinity may contain a reference to the concept of the "American Dream". Thus, the Boys' World has a structure that is comprised of these kinds of codes or themes.

Texts are seen as playing a role in the creation of *subjectivities*, that is, the self-awareness and self-reflection of the individuals who are interacting with those texts. Luke (1993) makes the link between written texts in particular and the creation of gendered subjectivities (i.e. one's self-awareness or self-concept of being a gendered being). He states:

> ...multiple institutions of popular, community and educational culture together constitute a grid for that initiation of girls and boys into gendered literate practices, and with them, gendered subjectivities and social relations, gendered power and culture. (p. x)

In other words, texts that are a part of an individual's life contribute to the conception the individual has of him/herself as a gendered being. In turn, this gendered self-awareness plays a role in that individual's place in society and his/her interactions with others.

One of the primary criticisms of mainstream semiotics has been that it often focuses on the text itself, ignoring the social dimension of meaning. Hodge and Kress (1988) attempt to overcome this limitation with what they label *social semiotics*, in which the social dimension of communication is given primacy, and all sign systems are regarded as socially-constituted. According to social semiotics, "meaning is produced under specific social conditions, through specific material forms and agencies" (Hodge & Kress, 1988, p. viii). While taking note of social context, however, Kuhn (1985) suggests that we must not lose sight of the fact that texts are, to a certain extent, productive of meaning in their own right.

Semiotics is related to structuralist, and more recently, poststructuralist theories. Structuralism suggests that a static, although arbitrary, connection comes to be made between the signifier and the signified, so that a fixed meaning for the sign comes into being. For example, the combination of letters c-a-t does not necessarily have to refer to a type of four-legged furry animal that meows, but that connection has become fixed within the English language. In contrast, poststructuralism, based on the work of Jacques Derrida, claims that there is no underlying unified meaning for signs, because there is no fixed connection between signifier and signified. As a result, signs are plurivocal rather than univocal (Merrell, 1985; Moi, 1985). Rather than simple relations between signifiers and what they signify, there are chains of signification, wherein the signified in one instance becomes the signifier in the next instance (Game, 1991). The result is a complex network of differences among signifiers, each carrying traces of all the others. Meaning becomes almost endlessly deferred, until located in a *discourse* (Merrell, 1985; Storey, 1993). For example, two of the codes that comprise the structure of meaning of masculinity in the Young Adult novels are *collectivity* and *aggression*, but the meanings of collectivity and aggression are somewhat vague and subject to almost countless interpretations until one locates them within larger discourses of masculinity. Discourse refers to a collection of knowledge, the product of social formations; in this research project, the codes that comprise the structure of the Boys' World are located within a larger 'collection of knowledge' about masculinity. The meaning of a text comes to be limited by historically and culturally-specific social formations, which are represented in various discourses. Different discourses make different connections between the signifier and signified, so that the same sign has different meanings within various discourses. Because our culture is characterized by variations in the organization of social power, competing discourses exist, and so do competing ways of giving meaning (Weedon, 1987). Thus, *collectivity* and *aggression* may have somewhat different meanings when considered in the context of various 'collections of knowledge' about manhood.

The concept of discourse enables the notion of *polysemic meaning* (i.e. the notion of multiple possible meanings within the same text) in terms of both the reader and the text itself

(Turner, 1992). Originally, notions of polysemy were based upon the variable social production of readers, and the range of discourses to which they are exposed, based upon their place in the structure of power relations in society (Turner, 1992). That is, in the reading of cultural texts, the nature of available discourses determines the nature of the meanings a reader may attribute to those texts (Weedon, 1987). More recently, polysemy has also begun to be seen as a characteristic of the texts themselves (Turner, 1992). Discourses are in a continual struggle for hegemony (i.e. dominance), and that struggle may be traced in texts. Because society is characterized by the simultaneous existence of competing discourses, and because texts are constructed within society, those texts will be embedded within those competing discourses. That is, a text will contain elements of various discourses simultaneously.

> Textual analysis can be employed to follow the moves in this struggle [for hegemony], by showing how particular texts take up elements of different discourses and articulate them. (O'Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders, Montgomery, & Fiske, 1994, p. 94)

Hodge and Kress's (1988) conception of social semiotics includes the potential for plurality of meaning within texts. They suggest that because society is characterized by both unity and conflict, cohesion and contradiction, the structures of meaning (i.e. semiotic systems) within that society will also demonstrate those characteristics. Because semiotic systems are characterized by the struggle over meaning, interpreting codes in literary analysis requires identifying both their unifying and their oppositional elements (Christian-Smith, 1990). Hegemonic forces attempt to give the appearance of unity and homogeneity, despite the struggles that exist; thus, in the analysis of ideological formations within texts, one must look for the contradictions that expose that homogeneity as a fiction (Turner, 1992).

Through this discourse analysis using social semiotics, a list of codes or themes arises; these codes form the structure of the Boys' World--that is, the structure of meaning surrounding masculinity. Paraphrasing a quotation by Berger (1991, p. 23), these codes tell us what being a man means, and what the individual must do in various situations in order to be considered a man.

Method of Analysis

Semiotics has been linked to a wide range of methods for the analysis of texts, some more formalistic than others. Analysis exists at various levels, from a linguistic focus on individual signs (i.e. the combination of a single word/referent combination), to a focus on the more complex codes or general messages constructed in the text--anywhere from sign, to sentence, to paragraph, to chapter, to book (Fiske & Hartley, 1978). More rarely, as in the case of this particular research project, the unit of analysis is *books* (in the plural form).

This research project encompasses the broader levels of analysis of codes related to masculinity which are constructed in the multiple texts being analyzed. The codes can be thought of in terms of Barthes' *connotative codes*--meanings (about masculinity) that can be grouped into themes. Because these codes are what structure masculinity in the novels, it is via these codes that the "linguistic and sociocultural dimensions" of the texts are analyzed "in order to determine how meaning [about masculinity] is constructed" (Barsky, 1993, p. 34); an exploration of meaning is the defining feature of a discourse analysis. These codes are brought to the surface via a methodological technique that has been labeled in a number of ways, including the *qualitative method* (Neumann, 1991) or the *thematic approach* (Tesch, 1987). This technique is similar to that used by Christian-Smith (1990) in her semiotic analysis of constructions of femininity in adolescent romance novels.

This technique is dynamic, interactive, and evolutionary. It involves several phases, with the results of each phase influencing the next phase. Initial readings provide the central themes or categories of the text. Subsequent readings find specific instances of those themes, as well as interconnections and contradictions among the network of themes. Neumann (1991) outlines three phases of analysis or coding: (a) open coding, in which the codes are initially determined in a broad or abstract way; (b) axial coding, in which those codes are refined; and (c) selective coding, in which the codes are expanded and made more specific. These three phases entail three separate readings as the codes are determined, refined, and expanded. In contrast, Charmaz

(1983) suggests the coding process is captured by only two phases: (a) initial coding, which involves a search for the basic themes; and (b) focused coding, which involves an elaboration and refinement of those themes, and a search for specific instances of those themes in the contents of the texts. Tesch (1987), describing the same process, does not outline specific phases, but instead describes a processual, back-and-forth or spiral oscillation between abstract and concrete. Despite the differences in the descriptions Neumann (1991), Charmaz (1983), and Tesch (1987) provide, the method each of them is describing is similar. The descriptions provided by Neumann (1991) and Charmaz (1983) are more formulaic, more specific, and easier to try to emulate, but the description provided by Tesch (1987) more accurately captures the abstract quality of being in the process of conducting this type of research.

While some researchers look for a clustering of themes into categories and then connections among those categories (e.g. Neumann, 1991; Charmaz, 1983), Tesch (1987) suggests this technique is insufficient because it fails to address the complexity of the data. She suggests ideas do not easily and neatly fit into the boxes constructed by categories. Instead, ideas comprise something more like a pattern, a picture, or a story. Tesch says of the categorizing technique:

> When dealing with themes and patterns it becomes obvious that something that can be experienced only as a whole has been taken apart in a somewhat unnatural fashion to allow the human mind to get a better grasp of it. (p. 233)

In this type of approach, *analytic memos* are commonly used, which are suggested for qualitative research in general (Charmaz, 1983). Analytic memos are used in the following way. First, a separate memo, with the appropriate heading, is used for each theme (or connotative code) that emerges. On each memo, specific instances of that theme are recorded (such as quotations from the various novels, or notes about plot elements of various novels), as are detailed ideas about the interconnections among themes. The detail of these memos enable translation into the final document.

It must be noted that unlike many projects of literary analysis that arise within the field of literary criticism, this analysis goes beyond a mere description of the codes and their interrelatedness, to look at the social nature of these codes. That is, this research explores these codes in the larger sociocultural context in which these codes exist (i.e. in what Hodge & Kress, 1988 call *ideological complexes*). Kuhn (1985, p. 6) says that an analysis of textual representations is an important starting point, but is insufficient in itself, because "in practice, images are always seen in context. Thus, one must do what Kuhn calls "a textual/contextual analysis" (p. 75), which consists of placing the codes within the social contexts in which the codes arose and in which the texts are used. Shoemaker (1998) points out that one of the primary weaknesses of studies of masculinity that search for its construction through discourse analysis is the lack of contextuality.

> Historians using this approach have often neglected to examine the relationship between systems of meaning and their historical context, often assuming that prescriptive literature [such as guidebooks or novels] constitutes a reliable picture of historical reality. As Jane Rendall has argued, identifying constructions of masculinity and femininity is only half the battle; historians then need to 'ask questions about the location, and extent, of those constructions...as they change over time and place'. (Shoemaker, 1998, p. 5)

The codes of masculinity in Young Adult novels are part of larger ideological complexes. They are located in the broader structure of meaning or discourses regarding masculinity in society. While codes of masculinity arise from my reading of the Young Adult novels, looking at the relations between these texts, other texts, and social context allows us to see these codes as part of a larger structure of meaning. By considering elements of social context, such as the work of other researchers, social events, and characteristics of society, we can see if, for example, *aggression* as a component of masculinity is found outside of the Young Adult novels as well.

This research project is similar to the work of Christian-Smith (1990), who explored constructions of femininity in adolescent romance novels from the 1940s to the 1980s. In describing her methodology, she describes an initial reading, with the use of analytic memos, as providing three codes which characterize the constructions of femininity in the texts--romance, beautification, and sexuality. She then describes subsequent readings as providing a number of themes within each code, each theme expressed by a single statement. In addition, when relevant, she goes beyond a mere description of the codes by relating them to larger sociopolitical forces (or the ideological complexes) surrounding femininity in American culture from the 1940s to the 1980s.

Using the Method

Most descriptions of this type method (such as those provided by Neumann, 1991 and Charmaz, 1983) serve as a good starting point for conducting research. However, as I began, I found it difficult to translate their descriptions of method into specific actions. Their descriptions provided me with a framework for my approach, but without a more explicit set of instructions or examples of the steps of the process in action, I was somewhat uncertain of what to *do* with the novels when I sat down with them. What was I supposed to look for? And how would I know when I found it? What would a code of masculinity look like? Through a bit of trial and error, and a lot of initial confusion, I found a way to translate the methodological framework into a set of specific techniques.

The Boys' World is the domain of masculinity, and as described in the preceding chapter, many contemporary definitions of masculinity include both a public and a private level, suggesting that masculinity is comprised of social structures, interpersonal relations and individual characteristics. Consequently, in exploring the structure of masculinity in the texts, I would look for structures, interpersonal relations, and individual characteristics as found in the constituent parts of novels. What are the constituent parts of novels? They include the following: the plot, or chain of events; characterization, or the descriptions and actions of particular male characters; interactions among various characters, such as through dialogue; each individual male character's thoughts and reported feelings; and the setting, the physical and social structure within which the story occurs. What do the male characters do, or not do? What actions and activities do they engage in? What do they feel and think, on the basis of both self-reports and narrator descriptions? What do they look like? What is the social world that they exist in like?

What do they say to each other, and about each other? These were just some of the questions I kept in mind as I read each story.

Should I focus on the central male character of each novel, or all of the male characters in each novel? My background reading of existing research about masculinity indicated that the plurality and contradictions within masculinity are considered significant; focusing on all of the male characters in each novels rather than on just one male character increased the likelihood of seeing the plurality and contradictions within the Boys' World.

The first step of the research process was, of course, immersing myself in the research literature about masculinity, described in the preceding chapter. I needed to know what masculinity is, and what other researchers say it is comprised of. Once I felt a level of familiarity with the research literature, I began my own analysis by writing a set of notes for each of the 30 Young Adult books I read. While reading a book, every time I came across something that, based on my background knowledge, I thought was related to masculinity (within the plot, dialogue, etc.), I would write down a description or a quotation. An example of these notes from one novel from each of the three time periods, follows.

Table 5.1: Notes for Golding, William (1954) *Lord of the Flies.*
~ When Piggy criticizes Jack for letting the fire go out, Jack punches him in the stomach.
~ Competition emerges between Jack and Ralph, with each one trying to be braver, more adventurous, and a better leader than the other.
~ "In front of them, only three or four yards away, was a rock-like hump where no rock should be. Ralph could hear a tiny chattering noise coming from somewhere--perhaps from his own mouth. He bound himself together with his will, fused his fear and loathing into a hatred, and stood up" (pp. 146-147).
~ "The desire to squeeze and hurt was over-mastering" (p. 136).

Table 5.2: Notes for Hinton, S. E. (1967) *The Outsiders.*
~ Plot based on continual violent conflict and confrontation between two gangs, the Greaser and the Socs.
~ "If it hadn't been for the gang, Johnny never would have known what love and affection are" (p. 20).
~ It is important for a fight to be "fair" (p. 37).
~ Pony: "I'll fight anyone anytime, but I don't like to" (p. 142).

Table 5.3: Notes for Turner, Megan Whalen (1996) *The Thief.*
~ Life in this land has recently changed, after "the invaders came" (p. 4), resulting in the circumstances leading to Gen's imprisonment.
~ "I was thinner than when I was first arrested. The large iron ring around my waist had grown loose, but not loose enough to fit over the bones of my hips" (pp. 1-2).
~ "The guards looked at me as they passed on their rounds, a tribute to my reputation. As part of my plans for greatness, I had bragged without shame about my skills in every wine store in the city. I had wanted everyone to know that I was the finest thief since mortal men were made" (p. 21).
~ The King is the primary authority in the land, followed by the Magus (a sorcerer, scholar, and advisor), followed by a handful of secondary advisors.
~ " ' I'd want you alive of course,' said the King, and carefully described the grisly things that would happen to me when I was captured" (p. 13), if Gen failed to follow the King's orders.

After reading several novels, I went through the notes written for each one, and for each of the quotations or descriptions regarding masculinity, I thought of a descriptive label that could be applied, and wrote it in the margin; I translated these labels into the codes of masculinity. Subsequently, my first set of analytic memos changed with the addition of labels. An example of this follows:

Table 5.4: Labels for Golding, William (1954) *Lord of the Flies.*

Label	Notes
aggression	~ When Piggy criticizes Jack for letting the fire go out, Jack punches him in the stomach.
competition hierarchy	~ Competition emerges between Jack and Ralph, with each one trying to be braver, more adventurous, and a better leader than the other.
emotion	~ "In front of them, only three or four yards away, was a rock-like hump where no rock should be. Ralph could hear a tiny chattering noise coming from somewhere--perhaps from his own mouth. He bound himself together with his will, fused his fear and loathing into a hatred, and stood up" (pp. 146-147).
aggression	~ "The desire to squeeze and hurt was over-mastering" (p. 136).

Table 5.5: Labels for Hinton, S. E. (1967) *The Outsiders.*

Label	Notes
aggression	~ Plot based on continual violent conflict and confrontation between two gangs, the Greaser and the Socs.
emotion collectivity	~ "If it hadn't been for the gang, Johnny never would have known what love and affection are" (p. 20).
morality aggression	~ It is important for a fight to be "fair" (p. 37).
aggression	~ Pony: "I'll fight anyone anytime, but I don't like to" (p. 142).

Table 5.6: Labels for Turner, Megan Whalen (1996) *The Thief.*

Label	Notes
aggression competition	~ Life in this land has recently changed, after "the invaders came" (p. 4), resulting in the circumstances leading to Gen's imprisonment.
embodiment	~ "I was thinner than when I was first arrested. The large iron ring around my waist had grown loose, but not loose enough to fit over the bones of my hips" (pp. 1-2).
competition hierarchy morality	~ "The guards looked at me as they passed on their rounds, a tribute to my reputation. As part of my plans for greatness, I had bragged without shame about my skills in every wine store in the city. I had wanted everyone to know that I was the finest thief since mortal men were made" (p. 21).
hierarchy	~ The King is the primary authority in the land, followed by the Magus (a sorcerer, scholar, and advisor), followed by a handful of secondary advisors.
aggression	~ " ' I'd want you alive of course,' said the King, and carefully described the grisly things that would happen to me when I was captured" (p. 13), if Gen failed to follow the King's orders.

As I went through this process for my notes from each novel read to that point, I could see the range of potential codes or themes for each novel. I could also see the trends, or the repetition of the same basic concept (such as *aggression*) across novels, which supported the reliability of that code. Looking across the novels, I saw the different ways that a single code could be conveyed; for example, *aggression* could be a part of character descriptions, behaviours, or the chain of events.

Following the addition of labels to the set of notes from each book read to that point, I created a new set of analytic memos. Each new memo was based on a particular code, derived from the labels. Thus, there was one analytic memo for *aggression*, another for *hierarchy*, and so forth. On each of these new analytic memos I copied the specific notes from each novel that were similarly labeled, and indicated whether that note illustrated a link with any of the other codes. An illustration of these memos follows:

Table 5.7: Code of Aggression
~ Life in this land has recently changed, after "the invaders came" (*The Thief*, p. 4), resulting in the circumstances leading to Gen's imprisonment. [COMPETITION]
~ Pony: "I'll fight anyone anytime, but I don't like to" (*The Outsiders*, p. 142).
~ "'I'd want you alive of course,' said the King, and carefully described the grisly things that would happen to me when I was captured", if Gen failed to follow the King's orders (*The Thief*, p. 13).
~ It's important for a fight to be "fair" (*The Outsiders*, p. 37). [MORALITY]
~ When Piggy criticizes Jack for letting the fire go out, Jack punches him in the stomach (*Lord of the Flies*)
~ Plot based on continual violent conflict and confrontation between two gangs, the Greasers and the Socs (*The Outsiders*).
~ "The desire to squeeze and hurt was over-mastering" (*Lord of the Flies*, p. 136).

I started these analytic memos after having reading only a few novels. With each additional novel I would go through the same process--write notes from the book, put labels in the margin, and add the related material to the code-based analytic memos. If I found a new code of masculinity at a certain point, I went back to the earlier novels to see if that code was present there as well.

Once I had finished all of the Young Adult novels, I expanded the code-based analytic memos. First, I went through the memo for each code, and added a second column in which I described the basic ideas reflected in each of the notes, as illustrated on the next page:

Table 5.8: Code of Aggression with Descriptions

Description	Notes from Novels
~ overall presence of aggression	~ Life in this land has recently changed, after "the invaders came" (*The Thief*, p. 4), resulting in the circumstances leading to Gen's imprisonment. [COMPETITION]
~ part of male role	~ Pony: "I'll fight anyone anytime, but I don't like to" (*The Outsiders*, p. 142).
~ overall presence of aggression	~ "'I'd want you alive of course,' said the King, and carefully described the grisly things that would happen to me when I was captured", if Gen failed to follow the King's orders (*The Thief*, p. 13).
~ conditions placed on aggression	~ It's important for a fight to be "fair" (*The Outsiders*, p. 37). [MORALITY]
~ interpersonal violence	~ When Piggy criticizes Jack for letting the fire go out, Jack punches him in the stomach (*Lord of the Flies*)
~ interpersonal violence	~ Plot based on continual violent conflict and confrontation between two gangs, the Greasers and the Socs (*The Outsiders*).
~ fundamental nature of unrestrained masculinity	~ "The desire to squeeze and hurt was over-mastering" (*Lord of the Flies*, p. 136).

These ideas describe what the code means. Then I added a third column, in which I addressed intertextuality and contextuality. In this column I added notes related to each basic idea that indicated whether that idea has also been addressed by other researchers of masculinity, whether it is evident in other cultural products for men or for women (based on existing research literature and my own past research experience), and whether it is evident in social events or lived culture. An example of this memo follows on the next page:

Table 5.9: Code of Aggression with Descriptions and Context

Context	Description	Notes from Novels
~ Is in Western movies & books, Rambo-type movies, women's romance novels, violence on television and in urban areas as social problems. ~ Doyle; Connell; etc.	~ overall presence of aggression	~ Life in this land has recently changed, after "the invaders came" (*The Thief*, p. 4), resulting in the circumstances leading to Gen's imprisonment. [COMPETITION]
~ same as above	~ part of male role	~ Pony: "I'll fight anyone anytime, but I don't like to" (*The Outsiders*, p. 142)
~ same as above	~ overall presence of aggression	~ "'I'd want you alive of course,' said the King, and carefully described the grisly things that would happen to me when I was captured", if Gen failed to follow the King's orders (*The Thief*, p. 13).
~ link between violence and morality (Dubbert book)	~ conditions placed on aggression	~ It's important for a fight to be "fair" (*The Outsiders*, p. 37) [MORALITY]
~ dictionary definition of aggression ~ many ways of being aggressive (e.g. David & Brannon book)	~ interpersonal violence	~ When Piggy criticizes jack for letting the fire go out, Jack punches him in the stomach (*Lord of the Flies*)
~ same as above	~ interpersonal violence	~ Plot based on continual violent conflict and confrontation between two gangs, the Greasers and the Socs (*The Outsiders*).
~ seen in some biological, sociobiological, anthropological, and feminist perspectives	~ fundamental nature of unrestrained masculinity	~ "The desire to squeeze and hurt was over-mastering" (*Lord of the Flies*, p. 136)

The addition of the information in this last column provides the social dimension of meaning that characterizes the social semiotic approach, illustrating some of the social conditions within which this aspect of the meaning of masculinity is produced. This contextual information also shows how the codes of masculinity in these Young Adult novels are embedded within a larger structure of meaning surrounding masculinity in the broader society. I subsequently translated these multi-dimensional analytic memos into the final document.[6]

Limitations

There are a number of methodological limitations to this analysis. First, it is not known if all of the books chosen for analysis were actually popular with readers, although there is evidence suggesting that they were. Thus, the selected books should not necessarily be thought of as popular in terms of the audience, but rather in a broader sense--popular in terms of those who in part construct the Young Adult reading market (i.e. educators, librarians, and bookstores), and who in part construct the structure of meaning surrounding masculinity.

Second, due to the potential for multiple meanings, any single individual's reading of a text is necessarily partial, providing access to only a certain range of discourses, depending upon the position of the reader. As MacLeod (1994) states in her analysis of children's literature:

> I recognize the particularity of my kind of truth and its partial nature as well....Someone else, listening differently, might hear other voices and find other meanings. (p. ix)

In terms of this research project, what is being postulated is *relative validity* in terms of the specific objectives of analysis (i.e. constructions of masculinity). Social semiotics (as described by Hodge & Kress, 1988) suggests that meaning is attached to semiotic signs and codes through locating them in discourse; if different readers are locating signs in shared discourse (which inclused a shared methodological discourse as well), then similar meanings will be attached to those signs and codes. Although more than one interpretation is possible, within sociology as a discipline there is a certain range of discourses, and thus some overlapping knowledge among individuals. The shared discourses, and thus the shared knowledge among sociologists, means a certain degree of shared interpretations among sociologistsas well, particularly if using a similar method.

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[6] It is important to note that I focused my analysis only on the *masculinity* within these novels. Of course, any single novel includes more than masculinity--there may also be femininity, male-female relationships, intergenerational relationships, socioeconomic status, family structure, and rural/urban dynamics, just to name a few. An analysis of these novels could certainly focus on any of these areas, depending upon the interests of the researcher and his/her research objectives; because of my interest in the Boys' World, I am focusing only on masculinity. Thus, each individual story has more depth than the results in the next chapter indicate; that is because I am not exploring each of the stories in its entirety (as a work of literary criticism might), but am exploring one particular aspect of the stories.

We assume a certain degree of shared discourse within the discipline of sociology, but recognize that some differences among individual sociologists may exist (for example, due to some variations in social positioning), which would result in some variable discourses in addition to those discourses that are shared in the discipline. Thus, while there would likely be many shared meanings attached to constructions of masculinity in the novels, there might also be some variable meanings. Over time, amalgamating both the shared and the variable meanings would provide a more complete answer to the research question. Through this process, pieces of additional research may uncover a greater portion of the meanings constructed in these texts, and hence, a greater portion of the larger structure of meaning surrounding masculinity in society--that is, a larger piece of the pie.

The Boys' World awaits. Let's proceed.

CHAPTER 6–OUR FINAL DESTINATION: THE BOYS' WORLD & THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY

Thus far in our journey we have looked at the youth culture surrounding us and the historical path that has created it. We explored the Young Adult section in a bookstore, and saw the different types of books that have been written for youth over the past few centuries. We entered the academic realm and discovered how masculinity (i.e. the Boys' World) has been studied and defined by others. Arising from these parts of our journey, we were able to plan our own approach. We went back to the Young Adult section of the bookstore and selected 30 novels that have been significant to the youth culture that formed since mid-century. Now we can sit down with these novels and a good cup of coffee, and get a glimpse of the Boys' World through the stories told.

Reading these novels, it appears that there are both *components* of masculinity, and larger *conditions* within which masculinity is constructed. Together they comprise part of the structure of meaning within the discourses of masculinity that have been socially-constructed in North America. By considering these conditions and components of the Boys' World in terms of other windows through which we can see the Boys' World--other forms of popular culture for boys, forms of popular culture targeted at females, larger sociocultural events and characteristics, and research that has been done by others who have studied masculinity--we can see how the structure of meaning contained in the Young Adult novels is embedded within a larger structure of meaning governing masculinity in society.

The *components* are the characteristics that comprise masculinity; these are the *codes* or *themes* of masculinity using the terminology of social semiotics described in the last chapter; codes of masculinity tell us what a 'man' does, feels, and thinks, as well as what being a 'man' means. However, these components can only comprise masculinity if certain larger *conditions* are satisfied--without these conditions being satisfied, masculinity cannot be constructed, and the components are meaningless for masculinity. The conditions are the enabling foundations for the components of masculinity. First, we will look at the three conditions within which masculinity is realized--heterosexuality, embodiment, and 'No Sissy Stuff'. Second, we will explore the components, or codes, that make up the structure of masculinity. These conditions and components are the same in the books from all three time periods, from 1940 to 1997; in the last section we will consider this consistency over time.[1]

CONDITIONS OF MASCULINITY

Heterosexuality

The Boys' World, as it is constructed in the Young Adult novels I have read, exists only within the larger context of heterosexuality. While not explicitly stated, it is an implicit assumption, or unwritten rule, that the Boys' World is a heterosexual world. As Connell (1995) states, "public discourse takes heterosexuality for granted" (p. 148); the masculinity that is constructed in the novels is a part of this taken-for-granted aspect of discourse that Connell refers to.

In only one novel is an alternative to heterosexuality even vaguely alluded to. In *Catcher in the Rye* (1951), after young Holden Caufield has run away from his new boarding school he spends the night at the home of a man who is a former teacher of his. Asleep on the couch, Holden awakens to his teacher gently stroking his hair and chest. Holden immediately jumps up from the couch and runs from the apartment, shocked, confused, and upset at what just happened. There is no explicit reference to homosexuality, but this hint at something other than heterosexuality and the character's response to it clearly illustrates that something unacceptable has happened. In the male world constructed in the novels, there are no logical alternatives to heterosexuality; manhood is necessarily heterosexual. This is true regardless of the time period in question. In books from the 1940s to the late 1990s, a 'man' is heterosexual in orientation, in activity, and in mindset even if sexual activity itself is absent. Thus, in these novels, heterosexuality is one of the conditions within which masculinity is constructed.

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[1] A few notations must me made at this point. First, each of the three *conditions* of masculinity is found in every novel analyzed. Second, while the range of *codes* of masculinity are found throughout the three time periods, every single code is not necessarily found in every single book, but every code is found in every time period; each individual book, however, is characterized by a majority of the codes of masculinity. Third, while these codes are found throughout the novels, I will not necessarily be providing detailed information, excerpts, and so forth, from every novel; instead I draw upon those novels that I thought best capture the ideas I am conveying, in the most parsimonious way and a way most interesting to the reader of this dissertation.

The assumption of normative heterosexuality pervades North American society, not only in terms of masculinity, but in terms of femininity as well. We live in a culture that can be described as homophobic. There are support groups for people who are coming out of the closet, and for their family members. There are news stories of gay men being beaten or even killed, simply because of their sexual orientation. Last year, an Alberta woman who has been a foster parent for more than 18 years without incident was removed from the foster parents' program when government officials discovered she is a lesbian. School sex education programs in many school districts across North America are required to address only heterosexuality; any discussion of homosexuality is forbidden. Recently, elementary school readers being used in some districts that illustrated diversity in family life, including families headed by same-sex parents, were pulled from the curriculum as a result of pressures from a vocal minority of parents.

In the popular cultural realm, a number of advertisers pulled their commercials from the television show *Ellen* on the episode in which the main character admits that she is a lesbian, and the show was canceled at the end of that season. The actress, Ellen Degeneres, who came out of the closet publicly at the same time, has said in interviews that strangers were now coming up to her on the street to express their disapproval over her 'lifestyle' (calling her Ellen "degenerate'). When she had told her father and stepmother, years earlier, that she is gay, her father asked her to move out of the house out of fear of the influence she would have on her younger stepsisters. Another cultural product, teen magazines for girls, presume heterosexuality as well; articles about dating are always about dating someone of the opposite sex. The most popular series romance novels in the world, Harlequin and Silhouette, are of course, stories of heterosexual romance. Christian-Smith (1990) has found a few adolescent romance novels written in the 1960s and 1970s that allude to attraction between girls, but she points out that the stories demonstrate its unacceptability. Gay characters in some recent movies (*My Best Friend's Wedding*) and television shows (*Will & Grace*) are being portrayed in an acceptable (although frequently comical) light, but it is significant that these characters are rarely adolescents--for whom the assumption of heterosexuality is particularly strong.

Embodiment

Embodiment is another one of the conditions within which masculinity is realized throughout the three time periods. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, embodiment means being incarnate, which refers to "having bodily... form or substance" (p. 357). Thus, in the novels masculinity exists only in bodily form; it is only via the physical body that the qualities of manhood are experienced and expressed. Of course, we all exist in bodily form; that is what comprises life as we currently know it. What is significant about the embodiment in the novels is the way that the male characters' bodies are strongly emphasized, and are portrayed as the ultimate governing source of male thoughts, feelings, and social behaviours. The emphasis that is placed on the male body is evident in the explicit physical descriptions of the male characters. For example, in *Lord of the Flies* (1954) the character Piggy is repeatedly described in terms of his physical qualities--overweight, wears glasses, and has asthma. Rich descriptions of the main character's body are also clearly captured in *The Thief* (1996).

> The younger Useless stood and watched, and I wondered what he thought of me. The iron waistband had left deep bruises in a circle around my waist, and I was covered in flea bites and sores, but the ones on my wrists were the worst. Where the manacles had chafed there were raw spots partially covered in scabs that were black against my prison-fair skin. Once I had cleaned most of the dirt off myself and rinsed my hair, I squatted down in front of the spraying water and tried to find the place where the water would fall most gently on my wrists. Several of the sores were infected, and they needed to be cleaned out, but it was going to be a painful business. My whole body was shaking with the cold, and I clenched my teeth to keep them from chattering while I leaned into the water. (p. 26)
>
> Pol started to work on the right wrist first, while I looked at my dinner regretfully. After he had rinsed it with the soapy water, he rubbed a little salve on top of the scabs on the two sores, one above each of the bones in my wrist. ...I was off my guard when he took up my left arm. There was just one sore, but it ran all the way across the top of my wrist. Instead of a scab it had raw patches and bubbles of fluid trapped under flaps in the skin. Without any warning, Pol slid a knife under one of the flaps and twisted it open. (p. 28)

There are four different ways in which masculinity exists in bodily form: (a) noticing one's body; (b) experiencing and expressing emotions emotions physically; (c) physical action, that is putting the body in motion; and (d) the body as either enabling or limiting in carrying out the other qualities of manhood.

(a) Noticing One's Body

The novels contain elaborate descriptions of characters' physical sensations. For example, in *The Giver* (1993), Jonas recalls sledding down a hill. Included in this memory is a serious fall off of the sled, giving Jonas his first experience of true pain.

> Then, the first wave of pain. He gasped. It was as if a hatchet lay lodged in his leg, slicing through each nerve with a hot blade. In his agony he perceived the word 'fire' and felt flames licking at the torn bone and flesh. He tried to move, and could not. The pain grew. (p. 109)

Jonas' bodily sensations in this instance cannot be ignored. In the example of Jonas described above, there is nothing but the body's pain. The physical body supersedes everything else--all thought, all emotion, all non-physical feeling. Furthermore, as seen in *Catcher in the Rye* (1951), the body's sensations have an effect on thought, emotion, and non-physical feeling. Holden, the main character in the story, notices in substantial detail his physical sensations, which are typically negative sensations.

> The more I thought about it, though, the more depressed and screwed up about it I got. What made it even worse, my eyes were sore as hell. They were all sore and burny from not getting too much sleep. Besides that, I was getting sort of a cold, and I didn't even have a goddam handkerchief with me....There was this magazine that somebody'd left on the bench next to me, so I started reading it, thinking it'd make me stop thinking about Mr. Antolini and a million other things for at least a little while. But this damn article I started reading made me feel almost worse. It was all about hormones. It described how you should look, your face and eyes and all, if your hormones were in good shape, and I didn't look that way at all. I looked exactly like the guy in the article with lousy hormones. So I started getting worried about my hormones. Then I read this other article about how you can tell if you have cancer or not. It said if you had any sores in your mouth that didn't heal pretty quickly, it was a sign that you probably had cancer. I'd had this sore on the inside of my lip for about *two weeks*. So I figured I was getting cancer. (pp. 253-254)

These physical characteristics of his body make him *think* that he has bad hormones and cancer, and make him *feel* more depressed than he felt earlier. The individual's physical body takes precedence over other aspects of the individual, and also affects other aspects of the individual. The body will be noticed, and will be paid attention to; it cannot be ignored. Also illustrating the precedence of the body is the area of emotion, both in terms of experiencing emotion and expressing emotion.

(b) Experiencing and Expressing Emotions Physically

It is through the body that emotions are experienced by the characters in the novels, and it is via physical terms that these emotions are described. For example, in *One-Eyed Cat* (1987), Ned's mother is chronically ill. Her brother comes to visit. Ned sees his mother and her brother exchange a knowing glance, which makes Ned feel left out. His jealousy is described in physical terms: "Ned felt jarred by anger as though someone had shoved him" (p. 23). In *The Giver* (1993), the community has something called 'release'. At a certain point, elderly people are 'released' from the community. Newchildren (i.e. infants) who do not develop quickly enough are 'released'. People who break the community's most important rules are 'released'. Jonas thinks that 'release' means that they leave the community and join another community in which they can receive the kind of care that they need. In reality, 'release' is a lethal injection of a drug. Jonas is astonished when he discovers this:

> Jonas felt a ripping sensation inside himself, the feeling of terrible pain clawing its way forward to emerge in a cry. (p. 151)

The emotion 'rips' and 'claws' as it is experienced. The emotion is very much physical.

Just as male emotion is frequently experienced via the physical body, it is also expressed via the physical body--and often in aggressive and violent ways.. A good example of this is found in *Lord of the Flies* (1954). Jack is supposed to hunt for food for the group of boys stranded on an island. At one point early in the novel, he encounters a wild pig, but his fear prevents him from trying to kill it with his knife. After he 'chickens out', he feels embarrassed and ashamed of his lack of courage. His reaction: "He snatched his knife out of the sheath and slammed it into a tree trunk. Next time there would be no mercy" (p. 33). Jack's means of expressing his emotions is distinctly physical, and distinctly violent. This can also be seen in *Interstellar Pig* (1984), in an old diary of a sea captain. In his diary, the sea captain describes his reaction upon finding his brother next to a man they rescued at sea, who is now lying dead in a bunk:

> I was roused at once to anger. "And did I not instruct you to send word at once of any change in his condition?" I cried. But my brother remained crouched, his face hidden from me, a strange trinket clenched in his hand. "Why did you not heed me?" I demanded. "With my knowledge, I might have prolonged his life!" Still, my brother did not move or speak, adding to my fury. "Speak, man! You are not deaf and dumb!" I bellowed, and shook him violently by the collar. (pp. 38-39)

The sea captain expresses his anger by shaking his brother violently, a distinctly physical and aggressive act. However, it is not only negative emotions such as anger and shame that are expressed violently; even positive emotions like joy or happiness are expressed through physical violence:

> "We're on our way!" I swung at Eech and he belted me, harder than he had to for a celebration. I let him have it just as hard. He pushed me and I sprawled, clipping him in back of the knees so he went down too. We ended up on the other side of the fire. (*Onion John*, 1959, p. 200)

Thus, not only are emotions physically expressed, they are expressed in ways deemed acceptable for males in contemporary North American society--through aggressive and sometimes even violent behaviour.[2]

The fact that emotions are both experienced and expressed in definitively physical ways illustrates the strength of male embodiment. Its strength is such that even the mental or emotional becomes physical. There is no distinct emotional level separate from the physical level; in these novels the emotional *is* the physical.

(c) Physical Action

Masculinity also exists in bodily form through physical action. That is, manhood is based on *doing* rather than *thinking*. This is portrayed as one of the general differences between the sexes. In *The Pigman* (1968), John describes his movie-viewing habits in the following way, in contrast to his best friend Lorraine: "But that's how it always is. Lorraine remembers the big words, and I remember the action" (p. 15). Physical action, that is putting the body in motion, may occur in terms of a man's occupation. For example, in *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1973), Helen's father is described as "sweating out his days at construction work" (p. 35); not only is his job (construction) a physical one, but it results in a physical reaction as well (sweating). Physical action is particularly evident in the realm of sport, because sport is necessarily physical and embodied. In fact, sport is a strong area of focus in novels throughout all three time periods--many characters participate in sports including basketball, football, tennis, golf, and auto racing.

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[2] Aggression is one of the qualities, characteristics, or codes of masculinity in the Young Adult novels. Consequently, a more thorough discussion of aggression and masculinity will be found later in the chapter.

Physical action is required of males, regardless of age. In *A Wrinkle in Time* (1962), little Charles Wallace (5-years-old), along with his older sister, Meg, is upset when Mrs. Whatsit mentions the "tesseract" (p. 18) to their mother, which obviously disturbs her. The next day, while Meg is talking about her feelings over this, Charles Wallace decides that action is required. He forces his sister to accompany him to Mrs. Whatsit's home in order to determine what is going on. Being a little boy does not exempt him from the physical action of manhood. In fact, it comes 'naturally' to him, without a moment's hesitation.

A lack of action, or *thinking* rather than *doing*, is distinctly non-masculine. Piggy, in *Lord of the Flies* (1954) is described in terms of his lack of physical action:

> There had grown up tacitly among the biguns [i.e. the older boys] the opinion that Piggy was an outsider, not only by accent, which did not matter, but by fat, and ass-mar [i.e. asthma], and specs, and a certain *disinclination for manual labour* [italics added]. (p. 73)

Piggy is the boy who does the thinking and the rationalizing, who comes up with ideas to help the boys survive on the island they are stranded on. The other main characters, Jack and Ralph, enact those ideas. Jack and Ralph jump ahead with doing rather than thinking, and Piggy must try to restrain them and explain to them what needs to be done if they are to be rescued. In this novel, the lack of action by Piggy, regardless of the good ideas he comes up with, contributes to his portrayal as non-masculine. The nature of Piggy's embodiment, in part, makes him break the rules of one of the other conditions within which masculinity is realized, 'No Sissy Stuff'.

(d) The Body As Enabling Or Limiting

The nature of an individual's embodiment can either facilitate his ability to enact the components of masculinity that will be described in the remainder of this chapter, or inhibit his ability to do so. A strong, fit body enables a male to do some things that a weak, out-of-shape body cannot do. For example, in *A Wrinkle in Time* (1962), Meg says of Calvin, " 'He's a couple of grades above me, and he's on the basketball team.'" Calvin explains, " 'Just because I'm tall'" (p. 27). Thus, the fact that he is tall enables him to participate in a particular type of athleticism, playing basketball, and athleticism is one of the components of masculinity that will be discussed later in the chapter.

Bodily traits can inhibit the enactment of components of masculinity as well. Raymond Bronson, in *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1973) describes this process in himself:

> Raymond Bronson of a year ago had been a pretty spineless individual. He had always been small, which was part of it. It wasn't so much that he was short--five-foot-eight was a passable height--as the fact that he was lean and light-boned and not particularly well-muscled. (pp. 42-43)

Due to the characteristics of his body, he perceives himself as someone incapable of being assertive, tough, or dominating in situations calling for those traits. The word "spineless" in this regard has a negative connotation, suggesting that being unable to do these kinds of things is unacceptable in a man.

In *The Westing Game* (1978), Chris is an adolescent boy restricted to a wheelchair because of a chronic illness. The detailed descriptions of his body's incapabilities and the lack of control he has over his own body illustrate the body's limitations:

> "I saw someb-b-b..." Chris Theodorakis was too excited to stutter out the news to his brother. One arm shot out and twisted over his head. Dumb arm. (p. 16)

The limitations of his body make him a loner with few friends, preventing him from being part of any male-bonding group that other adolescent males in the story are belong to. The plot of the story is based on a murder mystery, turned into a contest in which the winner will inherit millions of dollars from the murder victim's estate. Because of the limitations of Chris' body, he is only able to participate in this competition with the assistance of other able-bodied characters.

Eventually, with the help of a new medical treatment, Chris' bodily limitations are overcome. Once his physical restrictions are removed, he is able to more effectively participate in the world of manhood--he goes to college where he is quite successful, develops friendships, and even gets a girlfriend, none of which would have been possible (according to the story) with his earlier physical limitations.

The Boys' World as constructed in Young Adult novels is necessarily a physical world, one filled with male bodies enacting masculinity (or in the case of a Sissy, a male body not enacting masculinity). Masculinity takes bodily form through noticing one's own body, experiencing and expressing emotions via the body, action (that is, *doing* instead of *thinking*), and the body enabling or inhibiting the enactment of other components of masculinity.

To what extent is this structuring condition for the Boys' World found in other parts of masculine discourse? Is the significance of embodiment unique to Young Adult novels, or can it be found elsewhere in North American society as well? Researcher Robert Connell (1995) suggests that embodiment is central to gender in Western cultures. He says, "...in our culture at least, the physical sense of maleness and femaleness is central to the cultural interpretation of gender" (p. 52) More specifically, he says that embodiment and gender are intertwined via *body-reflexive practices*. That is, the individual's body exists at an intermediary level, between the individual person and larger social structures/processes. The nature of a particular body (i.e. its size, strength, appearance, etc.) affects the performance of gender ideals, yet at the same time, the body is affected by social structures/processes. As an example of the latter, cultural ideals as portrayed in the media, the medical profession, and the publishing industry affect the individual's self-perception of the body's adequacy, and efforts to change one's body by making it thinner, more muscular, or more fit. Another example of body-reflexive practice that Connell mentions is war, which is a part of social structures/processes, and affects the body in many ways, including injury or death; subsequently, injury to the body has an impact on how that individual will then enact gender, which contributes to the formation, maintenance, or change of larger social structures/processes.

For males, Connell (1995) suggests that the embodiment of masculinity is particularly evident in relation to sport, manual labour, and sex. Horrocks (1995), in his popular cultural exploration of manhood concurs about the role of sport in the embodied nature of masculinity. In the novels I read, embodiment through sport and manual labour are emphasized as illustrative of *physical action*. Historian Joe L. Dubbert (1979) also emphasizes the importance of physical action to the attainment of American manhood. He points out that action became a central part of American manhood during the Victorian era in the U.S. This was derived, in part, from the anti-intellectualism (related to the anti-European sentiment) that pervaded American discourse at the time. Concern was being expressed about the 'over-civilized' man arising from too much book-learning. It was suggested that too much book-learning would result in cluttered minds, which would then create unnecessary and potentially harmful hesitation in making decisions. Anti-intellectualism emphasized more pragmatic life-learning rather than book-learning, and life-learning was only possible through action. This active, embodied aspect of masculinity was emphasized in didactic guidebooks written for boys at the time, instructing them about the path to true manhood.[3] The distinct 'Boy Culture' that emerged during the Victorian era followed this path (Rotundo, 1990).

In analyzing Victorian guidebooks for boys, Dubbert (1979) also finds an emphasis on the role of the body in either enabling or limiting other aspects of manhood, particularly *morality*. According to Dubbert, these guidebooks suggest that physical strength and moral strength are the same, and that physical weakness is the sign of a defective character. Physical exertion was prescribed to boys in order to create moral virtue, strong principles, and an upstanding character.

The Young Adult novels' portrayal of masculinity as intertwined with the body reinforces gender arguments based on biological determinism. This argument suggests men and women are the way they are (and are different from each other) because of biology. Connell (1995) points out that even in the 1990s, it continues to be common to see or hear forms of communication (such as newspaper articles, or human interest stories on television, or conversations among people) that voice the assumption that masculinity and femininity arise directly from the male or female body. Through the construction of emotional experience and expression as physical experience, Young Adult novels convey the assumption of biological determinism in relation to gender. One of the dangers of biological arguments to explain human behaviour lies in the potential consequences of using such an explanation; that is, if biology is seen as the source of human behaviour, then personal responsibility is removed from the way each of us acts, the way we treat others, and the way we raise our children. If gender is the result of biological determinism, then lasting change in gender roles is not possible.

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[3] For example, see George Peck's (1853) *The formation of a manly character*.

Theoretical and conceptual works in the area of gender that emphasize embodiment suggest that both masculinity and femininity have bodily form and substance. Thus, the fact that embodiment is a condition for the realization of masculinity does not mean that embodiment cannot be a condition for the realization of femininity as well. The structure of meaning that creates masculinity and the structure of meaning that creates femininity are not necessarily in direct opposition to each other. It may be that those two structures of meaning have some areas of overlap as well as some areas of distinction. Further research may reveal embodiment as one of those areas of overlap.

How might femininity, in comparison to masculinity, be embodied? In the past I have conducted research using adult and adolescent romance novels, the primary category of leisure reading material for females in many parts of the world.[4] Although I have not analyzed romance novels in terms of the construction of femininity in particular, my extensive reading of these books has given me certain insight that can be useful in looking at this question. Explicit physical descriptions are evident in romance novels, especially in relation to the nature of the character's physical attractiveness. Noticing one's own body or physical sensations is also a part of the femininity in romance novels; the physical sensations are typically those which occur during sexual activity, or during precursors to sexual activity. The emotions experienced by females in romance novels seem to be described not in physical terms, but rather in intellectual or psychological terms. Emotional expression is typically verbal, with the female characters talking about their emotions, although the physical act of crying to express sadness is common. Female action often revolves around the process of beautification; in fact, in her analysis of the construction of femininity in adolescent romance novels, Christian-Smith (1990) finds beautification to be one of three codes of femininity. That is, femininity is constructed, in part, through the preening and the beautifying of the female body. Analyses of teen magazines for girls (Peirce, 1993) also reveal the significance of beautifying the female body. Feminine action often revolves around those actions taken to establish a romantic relationship with a member of the opposite sex. This is particularly evident in adolescent romance novels, which are centered on this form of action, and in girls' teen magazines which usually have at least one cover story titled something like "How To Get Him To Notice You" or "What He's Really Looking For". Thus, it does appear that the construction of femininity in discourse is also an embodied femininity, although the nature, manifestations, and expression of that embodiment appear to be different than the nature of male embodiment.

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[4] For example, see Bereska (1994).

Embodiment and heterosexuality are two of the conditions within which masculinity is realized in the Young Adult novels for boys. A third condition, using a phrase initially coined by David and Brannon (1976), is 'No Sissy Stuff'.

No Sissy Stuff

As will become increasingly clear through the chapter, masculinity is remarkably complex, allowing room for both variation and contradiction in the ways individual characters realize and enact masculinity. There are many different ways of being a 'man'. Some are athletic, some are not. Some are emotional, some are not. Some are violent, some are not. Some are leaders, some are followers. In *Catcher in the Rye* (1951), Holden Caufield describes the various types of males he has encountered in his life. At one point in the story he describes "...this very Joe Yale-looking guy, in a gray flannel suit and one of those flitty Tattersall vests. All those Ivy League bastards look alike" (p. 112). He describes another man in the following way:

> ...[she had] some Navy officer with her that looked like he had a poker up his ass....He was one of those guys that think they're being a pansy if they don't break around forty of your fingers when they shake hands with you. (p. 113)

At various other points in the story he refers to nerdy-types, athletic-types, chess-club-types, and more, categorizing almost every male he interacts with as a certain 'type' of male.

Contemporary theoretical and conceptual work also recognizes that masculinity is plural, as illustrated in the discussion in Chapter 4, of recent definitions of masculinity. Historian Joe L. Dubbert (1979) suggests that variation in types of American manhood in particular became more widely recognized during World War I. Interviews with soldiers at the time revealed, for example, that for privates, courage and aggression were crucial attributes; in contrast, for officers leadership was a crucial attribute. Privates had to be brave and capable of violence, even if acting as a 'follower', while an officer had to be a 'leader', even if not capable of fighting effectively.

In addition to variation, contradiction also exists in masculinity. For example, as is the case with Pony and Soda in *The Outsiders* (1967), a male can be extremely violent toward others, and yet also be emotionally-sensitive, be interested in talking about his feelings, and cry easily. In *Missing* (1990), Mark is an athletic high school student who rescues his parents from a Satanic militaristic cult that has kidnapped them. However, when his girlfriend breaks up with him, he is described as crying uncontrollably. On one hand, these characters are quite stereotypically masculine; on the other hand they have characteristics that are not typically associated with being a *real* man.

There are, however, limits to possible variations and contradictions in masculinity. Those limits are determined, in part, by the condition of No Sissy Stuff. Plurality and/or contradiction are acceptable as long as the character as a whole is not unmanly, or a Sissy. That is, the label of Sissy is not based on any single characteristic. Rather, such a label emerges only in terms of the entire constellation of traits that a character has. A male can fall short of the idealized standards on any one, or even on a number, of components of masculinity, as long as he lives up to the standards of the remaining elements of manhood. However, if he falls short on *most* of the codes of masculinity, he will be seen as non-masculine overall--a Sissy.

The most explicit example of this is seen in the life (and death) of Piggy in *Lord of the Flies* (1954). Piggy is the non-masculine standard against which the manliness of the remaining characters is compared and emphasized. Piggy is a Sissy as a result of his inadequacies along a number of structural components of the Boys' World. His embodiment is such that his body is limiting; being overweight, wearing glasses, having poor eyesight, and asthma make him unable to live up to other masculine standards. He is completely lacking in aggression, unwilling to partake of adventure, he cries too easily, is not interested in competing with the other boys, and is not athletic. As a result of his shortcomings, he is more than at the bottom of the hierarchy of the boys on the island--he does not even have a place on the hierarchy. The overall result is that the boundaries of the condition No Sissy Stuff are broken, and without that condition being satisfied, masculinity cannot be realized by Piggy. He faces the ultimate punishment for being non-masculine--he is killed by the other boys.

The consequences of being a Sissy are not always as severe as those faced by Piggy. It is possible to overcome being a Sissy, and re-enter the Boys' World, although not necessarily with ideal results. In *The Pigman* (1968), Norton was a Sissy as a little boy because of the way his mother treated him.

> Norton actually did play with dolls when he was a kid. That was his mother's fault....When he was old enough to know better, he didn't play with dolls anymore. But the kids used to make cracks about him, so that made him go berserk around the age of ten. He was the only berserk ten-year-old in he neighborhood. From there on he turned tough guy all the way. He was always picking fights and throwing stones and beating everybody up. In fact, he got so tough he used to go around calling the other guys sissies....He's the type of guy who could grow up to be a killer. (pp. 81-82)

Thus, it is possible to re-enter the world of manhood and leave Sissy-hood behind. But the consequences of having been a Sissy in the first place last a lifetime. In the case of Norton, the psychological damage done is irreparable; it made him go "berserk". As a result, he may become a "killer"--not a good thing, but certainly preferable to being a nonviolent Sissy.

The term Sissy used to describe an inadequate man has been in usage throughout the 20th century (Dubbert, 1979). It was commonly used by the end of the 1800s to refer to one or more of many things: lacking courage; unwillingness to fight; physically weak; lacking in stamina; too polite; fearful; whining when hurt; and not being daring. The nature of Dubbert's list illustrates the link between being a Sissy and the structural components of the Boys' World as it is constructed in the Young Adult novels, including athleticism, aggression, emotion, and adventure. However, to reiterate, in the novels a compilation of inadequacies rather than just one is necessary for a label of Sissy. Thus, for example, simply lacking courage *or* being unwilling to fight *or* whining when hurt is not sufficient to become a Sissy; a male must lack courage *and* be unwilling to fight *and* whine when hurt before being considered a Sissy.

Other descriptive words are sometimes used interchangeably with 'Sissy' to refer to the same set of characteristics -- "wimp, milksop, nerd, turkey,...lily liver, jellyfish, yellowbelly, candy-ass" and more (Connell, 1995, p. 79). These terms are applied to inadequate males, or what Connell (1995) categorizes as *subordinated masculinities*. What makes Sissies subordinate? The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines a Sissy as "an effeminate boy or man", and the common usage of this label typically follows that definition--a Sissy is a male who is too woman-like. And just as women are supposed to be subordinate to men, so Sissies are subordinated males. For example, David and Brannon (1976) use the phrase No Sissy Stuff as one of their four components of ideal masculinity to refer in particular to a male who is too emotional, as emotional as a woman. Doyle (1995) also has a label for a male who is effeminate; this component of his model of masculinity is called the *antifeminine element*, suggesting that one thing a 'man' is, is *not* a woman.

Defining a Sissy as a male who is too woman-like arises from masculinity being conceptualized in opposition to femininity. Following this conceptualization, anything (or anyone) that is not masculine is necessarily feminine. However, in the Young Adult novels, there is no explicit oppositional contrast made between males/masculinity and females/femininity. A boy who becomes a Sissy is not necessarily 'girl-like', he is just not boy-like; that is, he has masculinity removed. Having masculinity removed does not necessarily attach femininity; not being a 'man' does not make the character a 'woman'. He cannot be feminine, because within these novels, femininity requires a female body, just as masculinity requires a male body. The Sissy cannot be masculine, because his constellation of characteristics removes him from the realm of manhood. Consequently, he exists in a netherworld or an *un*-world, just as in Orwell's book *1984*, someone who breaks Big Brother's rules becomes an *un*-person. That is, the rule-breaker has 'personhood' removed from him or her, and all evidence of his/her existence as a person is eradicated. Having personhood removed does not make the individual a chair, a cat, or 'something else'--the individual is simply no longer a 'person'. Similarly, in the Young Adult books, having 'manhood' removed from the Sissy does not make enter him into the realm of 'womanhood'--he is simply no longer a 'man'.

Summary

The Boys' World is a heterosexual world populated by male bodies, where a Sissy is not permitted entry. Without satisfying these conditions, participation in the Boys' World is not possible. It is only under these conditions that masculinity can be constructed; without these conditions, there is no masculinity. Once these conditions are satisfied, manhood can be created. Looking through the Young Adult novels, the structure of masculinity is comprised of eight components, or 'codes' if using the terminology of social semiotics described in previous chapter:

Table 6.1: Components of Masculinity
Emotional Expression
Aggression
Collectivity
Hierarchy
Adventure
Competition
Athleticism
Morality

While each of these components is unique in itself and somewhat distinct from the others, each is also linked to several of the other components of masculinity. The chart below illustrates the interlinkages among the various structural components of masculinity:

Table 6.2: Interlinkages among the Components of Masculinity

	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(H)
Emotion (A)		X	X					X
Aggression (B)	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Collectivity (C)	X	X		X		X		
Hierarchy (D)		X	X		X	X		X
Competition (E)		X		X		X		X
Athleticism (F)		X				X		X
Morality (G)		X				X		X
Adventure (H)	X	X		X	X		X	

As illustrated in the above chart, masculinity does not simply involve the parts of the overall structure, but also relations among those parts. In the next section of the chapter we will see each of those structural components, indications of some of its interlinkages with other codes (which can be investigated in themselves at some future point), and some aspects of the sociocultural context in which it exists.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOYS' WORLD

The first component of the structure of masculinity we examine is Emotional Expression. Within the Boys' World a particular degree of emotional expression is present, and particular means by which participants engage in emotional expression.

Emotional Expression

In these Young Adult novels, being male ordinarily means being largely unemotional. In particular, males are not supposed to express their emotions, even if feeling them. One example of this is found in *The Pigman* (1968), where Lorraine is describing her best friend, John:

> The one big difference between John and me, besides the fact that he's a boy and I'm a girl is that I have compassion. Not that he really doesn't have compassion, but *he'd be the last one on earth to show it* [italics added]. (p. 9)

Another good example is in *Dogsong* (1985), in which Russell, a young Inuit boy, wants to share his feelings with his father, but knows that would be inappropriate.

> He wanted to go on and say, *Father, I am not happy with myself*, but he did not. It was not the sort of thing you talked about. (p. 9)

It may be acceptable to have these kinds of feelings, but it is not acceptable to talk about them. However, Russell's father almost intuitively is able to sense what Russell is feeling, and sends him to one of the village elders for guidance--still not to talk about his feelings, but to listen. Through passively listening to the elder's stories, Russell is supposed to find the solution to this problem, without ever having talked about it. And what is the solution to Russell's unhappiness? Oogruk tells him the only answer is to be found by embarking on an adventure--by hitching up the dogteam and traveling through the wilderness until the unhappiness is gone, even if it takes years.

The unacceptability of emotional expression is even evident in the humorous verbal expressions characters sometimes use. In *Interstellar Pig* (1984), the landlord at a vacation spot says, after having told a group of people they cannot have the vacation home they want, "'But man, I thought I was gonna hear grown men weep when I wouldn't let them have this place'" (p. 5). This statement depicts the rarity of grown men crying, as well as the unacceptability of it--when it does occur, it is something to comment on or make jokes about.

In a number of instances, not only is the expression of emotions unacceptable, but even the feeling of emotions is considered inappropriate. In *Missing* (1990), Mark's parents have been kidnapped, but he continues to try and restrain his emotions.

> I didn't want to get too emotional. I wanted to stay as calm as possible, but I could feel myself starting to lose it. (p. 53)

This idea is also depicted in *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1973). In this story four teenagers accidentally run over a little boy riding his bicycle on a dark night, and then leave the scene of the accident. The little boy dies, and the teens fail to come forward to the authorities. One year later, the teens start receiving anonymous notes from someone who apparently knows the truth. After receiving one of these notes, Julie shows it to Helen and Barry. As Julie and Helen start to panic, it is Barry who calms them down, telling them that the notes are likely some sort of prank. However, as he leaves Helen's apartment, he also starts to feel unnerved over the situation.

> Somewhere in the parking lot another engine came to life....Coincidence, Barry told himself impatiently. I'm acting as uptight as those crazy girls. (p. 21)

Not only is it unacceptable for a man to be too emotional, but furthermore, anyone who does get too emotional is "crazy".

Thus, the restraints on male emotion in the Boys' World are twofold. First, masculinity means not expressing one's emotions even if those emotions are being felt. Second, masculinity may mean not even feeling any emotions. Balswick and Peek (1976) also make this distinction between two types of masculine ideals, differentiating between the *cowboy* and the *playboy*. The *cowboy* feels emotions, but is unwilling or unable to express them. He may be a deeply sensitive man, but does not show it to others. This type of male ideal is prevalent in adult series romance novels, such as "Harlequin" and "Silhouette", books that are some of the most widely-read books by women around the world (at last count Harlequin books were being sold in more than 100 countries). The *cowboy* type of hero in romance novels is very emotionally sensitive, but only shows it when he thinks he is alone; of course, the heroine inadvertently sees the hero in one of these moments, and his privately-expressed sensitivity is part of what draws her to him. The white-hatted protagonist in many Westerns (film or book) is also this type of character, which is the source of Balswick and Peek's cowboy-label; he has a big heart, and a heart of gold, but tries not to let anyone know about it.

In contrast to the *cowboy*, Balswick and Peek's *playboy* as a masculine ideal is a man who not only does not express emotion, but does not even feel emotion. He may be charismatic, but he is cold; nothing phases him. For example, a James Bond-type of character may protect the weak at times, but not out of any feeling for them; instead his behaviours are simply the rational thing to do. In fact, in order to apprehend the antagonist, James Bond might not even consider the consequences for innocent bystanders. Arnold Schwarzeneger's character in the movie *Total Recall* fits this profile as well. In one scene the hero is pursuing the villains down a series of escalators, but with no regard for the innocent people who are riding the escalators; the hero violently pushes, and sometimes almost throws bystanders right off of the escalators as he engages in his heroic measures.

Whether the inexpressive *cowboy* or the unfeeling *playboy*, both masculine ideals involve stoicism. The Boys' World is a stoic world, where its inhabitants are "not affected by passion or feeling" (Merriam-Webster dictionary). Connell (1995) also perceives stoicism as central to Western masculinity, both past and present. It is revealed in his historical timeline of the development of manhood, as well as in his interviews with different groups of Australian men. In David and Brannon's (1976) analysis , a lack of emotion is the defining characteristic of their code No Sissy Stuff.

In the Young Adult novels, there is one emotion in particular that is especially unacceptable for males to express and/or feel--fear. Fear is portrayed as irrational and potentially harmful. "'There is nothing to fear but fear itself,'" says Calvin in *A Wrinkle in Time* (1962, p. 110), while trying to talk himself out of feeling "scared stiff" (p. 110). Fear is unacceptable regardless of age. Even 5-year-old Charles Wallace, in the same story, knows this and is aware of the consequences of fear.

> "No," Charles Wallace said. "I have to go on. We have to make decisions, and we can't make them if they're based on fear." (p. 111)

His father is being kept captive in a world to which he has time-traveled. It is up to Charles Wallace, his older sister Meg, and her friend Calvin to rescue him. Rescuing him requires rationality, and requires action; Charles knows that fear inhibits both.

The relationship between fear and action is constructed as bi-directional in the novels. While fear impedes effective action, physical action is a way to dissipate fear. In *Dogsong* (1985), Russell experiences the following situation that illustrates the power of action:

> Yet the fear was gone. The fear had come from the unknown, from not acting, and now that he had made the decision to act the fear had gone. (p. 62)

Fear is avoided because it interferes with the use of the male body; using the male body eliminates the fear. And fear, of course, is something that must be dislodged. It is, perhaps, the most poisonous emotion a man, or even a little boy, can have.

Even in the Victorian era fear was perceived as particularly unacceptable in males. Being fearful, according to Dubbert (1979), was one of the swiftest ways of being labeled a Sissy in American society. If fear was present then two of the most important qualities for a man to possess in Victorian-American sentiment, courage and bravery, could not be.

Having addressed the general unacceptability of emotional expression in the Boys' World as it is constructed in the Young Adult novels, it is important to point out that in these novels some males are more emotional than others. For example, in *The Outsiders* (1967) some of the boys in the Greasers gang are very cold and unemotional (e.g. Dally), while others are considerably emotional, and often openly so (e.g. Pony and Soda). Pony and Soda openly share their feelings with the other Greasers, and even frequently cry. However, the various levels of emotionality all exist within a larger context of aggression and violence. The Greasers are a violent gang participating in continual gang warfare with the Socs. Even the most emotional of the Greasers are effective warriors. Their emotionality does not interfere with action. Because they continue to be action-oriented and extremely violent, their emotionality does not threaten their masculinity.

In *Lord of the Flies* (1954) , Jack's initial attempts to convince the other boys to leave Ralph's group and join his own are unsuccessful. He leaves the gang, crying, in order to go live alone. However, eventually the other boys do join Jack and his group of aggressive hunters; his crying did not reduce his status in the eyes of the others. In contrast, when Piggy's "lips quivered and the spectacles were dimmed with mist" (p. 12), he is ridiculed by the other boys. Piggy's crying provides further confirmation that he is, indeed, a Sissy--in addition to being non-aggressive, unadventurous, and having a limiting body, he cries as well. Thus, Jack remains a participant in the Boys' World, while Piggy is only an observer.

Even those male characters who are perceived by others as being highly emotional or sensitive often have restraints on the degree or type of emotion they express. For instance, in *Up the Down Staircase* (1964), there is a young, very handsome male teacher who expresses deep emotion as a poet; poems about love are his specialty. He is adored by female teachers and students as a wonderfully sensitive man. However, it eventually becomes clear that his sensitivity is largely restricted to his poetry, rarely extending into his interactions with people. Although he is aware of the fact that most of the girls in school have a crush on him, he is nothing less than callous when one student confesses her love to him in a letter. He shatters her dreams and her image of him, telling her that she is being utterly ridiculous. Following this exchange, the student attempts suicide by leaping out of the classroom window. A fellow teacher, Sylvia, describes this disturbing incident in a letter to a friend.

> Paul asks how I would have handled a love letter from a student. I don't know--by talking, maybe, by listening. (p. 240)

While he constructs an image of himself based on his emotion-ridden poetry, in reality he acts like the unfeeling *playboy* of Balswick and Peek's (1976) analysis.

There is, however, one emotion that is entirely acceptable for males to feel and to express--anger. The contrast between the approval of anger in relation to other unsuitable emotions is made explicit in the novels wherein unacceptable emotions are transformed into the legitimate emotion of anger. In *Hot Rod* (1950), when Bud's girlfriend cheats on him, he initially feels "despair" (p. 31). Shortly, his despair is metamorphosed into a desire for "revenge" (p. 31). Even younger boys make this transformation. Fourteen-year-old Burl, in *The Maestro* (1995), is in a situation in which he, too, initially feels despair. But then, a change occurs:

> Into the emptiness of Burl's desolation, a new kind of strength coursed like poison. It stirred up something angry in him. A large anger on a barbed hook thrashing inside him wanting out. He clenched his fists tight, felt the sharp message of his fingernails biting into the palms of his hands. (p. 76)

Burl's despair becomes anger, which is appropriate for a male to experience. Among the young boys in *Lord of the Flies* (1954) , this change is made repeatedly. For example, at one point Ralph sees an unfamiliar shape in the distance.

> In front of them, only three or four yards away, was a rock-like hump where no rock should be. Ralph could hear a tiny chattering from his own mouth. He bound himself up together with his will, fused his fear and loathing into a hatred, and stood up. (pp. 146-147)

What makes anger an acceptable emotion to experience and express is that it does not interfere with, and in fact even facilitates, physical action, which is one of the ways that masculinity is embodied. That the resulting actions arising from anger are often in the direction of aggression or violence means that anger is an emotion that can actually emphasize a character's masculinity.

The inappropriateness of emotions other than anger is echoed in David & Brannon's (1976) conceptualization of ideal manhood. They say,

> Public displays of emotion--other than anger, or course, which is appropriate for a strong, aggressive male---lead to a rapid decline in prestige. By showing such emotionality, a man demonstrates his lack of masculinity.... (p. 49)

However, there are some times when this general rule is broken in the Young Adult novels. That is, there are times when emotions other than anger are appropriate to experience and express. Particular situational factors can legitimize emotional expression. A good illustration of this is found in *Missing* (1990). Mark initially restrains his fear when his parents are kidnapped, not wanting to become "too emotional" (p. 53). As dangerous and potentially harmful events begin to accumulate, Mark's feelings of fear become increasingly acceptable. After he has to kill a vicious dog that attacked him, by breaking the dog's neck, Mark describes himself as "badly shaken" (p.

127) into the following day. When he and his sister find that their cousin has been murdered by someone using a bow and arrow, feelings of fear become even more legitimized. He says, "I didn't recognize the sound of my own voice. It sounded so frightened, so strained" (p. 138). In this instance the role of situational context in the legitimization of emotions is made clear. Mark points out that the frightened voice is very much unlike the way he normally sounds; it is an inappropriate emotion in an acceptable context. In the same story, when Mark's parents are finally rescued, Mark says, "Tears formed in the corners of Dad's eyes, the first tears I had ever seen him shed" (p. 164). Again, the point is made that his father does not normally get so emotional; the fact that he and his wife were kidnapped and about to be sacrificed by a Satanic, militaristic cult, but were rescued in the nick of time, entitles him to shed a few tears for the first time in 16 years.

Even 5-year-old Charles Wallace, in *A Wrinkle in Time* (1962) has his emotional expression legitimized by the situational context. As he and his sister are trying to rescue their father from another world, they encounter a frightening, red-eyed man. This is the man who is holding Mr. Murry captive. He is a man of tremendous power, with the ability to hypnotize and brainwash those who encounter him. Charles Wallace, Meg, and Calvin have already had to endure a series of traumatic, physically-demanding, and life-threatening events before getting to this point. They are tired, hungry, injured, and afraid from traveling through time and across and number of worlds. The red-eyed man is talking in riddles, trying to confuse them, and little Charles Wallace is standing up to him, demanding to see his father.

> But his voice was shaking. Charles Wallace, who even as an infant had seldom cried, was near tears. (p. 115)

The resulting inference is that the situation he is in is so terrible that it *almost* brings tears to someone who did not even cry as a baby.

In these situations, the context-induced emotions occur within a larger context of the characters enacting masculinity. Mark is in the process of rescuing his parents and finding his cousin's killer. Charles Wallace is traveling through time to rescue his father, and although he is the youngest of the children, takes charge of the mission. Both Mark and Charles Wallace are embarking on adventures that will endanger their own lives. They are being 'men', doing the kinds of things 'men' must do, things so horrific that they can even make a 'man' cry or tremble in fear.

David and Brannon (1976) also acknowledge that within certain circumstances, emotional expression is acceptable for a man. These circumstances revolve around having "achieved something prestigious" or having done something that is "a confirmation of his masculinity" (p. 49). A situation that proves one's manhood is a situation in which emotional expression may be acceptable.

As is evident from the degree to which feelings are addressed in the Young Adult novels, emotional expression is one of the structuring codes of the Boys' World. This world is a stoic one, in which emotional expression, or even emotional feeling, is unacceptable. Exceptions to this rule revolve around specific, particularly terrible situations wherein even a 'man' can be drive to fear. These are situations in which a male is otherwise acting in a way that confirms other aspects of his masculinity. The one emotion that is always acceptable to experience and express is anger, especially when that feeling results in aggressive action. Aggression is the next code of masculinity, the next structural component of the Boys' World that we see on our journey.

Aggression

Masculinity, as it is constructed in the Young Adult novels, is necessarily aggressive. Some degree of aggression expressed in some way is required of all males. All of the boys in *The Outsiders* (1967) are described as being "tough as nails" (p. 17). In *The Maestro* (1995) the main character's father is aggressive by being physically abusive, as is the father in *M. C. Higgins the Great* (1974), illustrated in the following passage:

> And then, his father beating him with his belt: "A boat wouldn't go into that water not knowing how the currents run. (*Whack!*) I'm not saying you can't swim it (*Whack!*), as good a swimmer as you are. (*Whack!*) But you have to study it, you have to practice. You have to *know* you're ready. (*Whack-whack-whack!*) I'll even give you a prize, anything that won't cost me to spend money. (*Wham!*) (p. 5)

In *A Wrinkle in Time* (1962) Meg's brothers criticize her when she gets into trouble at school for fighting:

> Sandy and Dennys, her ten-year-old twin brothers, who got home from school an hour earlier than she did, were disgusted. "Let us do the fighting when it's necessary," they told her. (p. 2)

Their "disgust" is at the fact that their sister was fighting, when they see fighting as their role. The naturalized link between masculinity and aggression is also evident in *The One-Eyed Cat* (1984). After a neighbourhood cat is seen having lost one eye, people start proposing a number of ways it might have happened. One character says, "'Or else someone used him for target practice. *A boy would do that* [italics added]'" (p. 66).

Characters in the novels recognize that males must live up to an aggressive standard. Holden Caufield (*Catcher in the Rye,* 1951) clearly recognizes what is expected of him, as a male. He discovers that a schoolmate has stolen his gloves, but the schoolmate denies it. Holden's response is as follows:

> I'd have the damn gloves right in my hand and all, but I'd feel I ought to sock the guy in the jaw or something--break his goddam jaw. Only, I wouldn't have the guts to do it. I'd just stand there, trying to look tough. (p. 116)

Why does Holden not respond in the way he thinks he should? Because he perceives himself as "one of those very yellow guys. I try not to show it, but I am" (p. 115). He sees a gap between the way a 'man' is supposed to act, and the way he himself acts. When he is beaten up for failing to pay an escort the amount of money he is told to pay, he is unable to retaliate; however, he fantasizes about the way he would retaliate if he had the courage to.

> About halfway to the bathroom, I sort of started pretending I had a bullet in my guts. Old Maurice had plugged me. Now I was on the way to the bathroom to get a good shot of bourbon or something to steady my nerves and help me *really* go into action. I pictured myself coming out of the goddam bathroom, dressed and all, with my automatic in my pocket, and staggering around a little bit. Then I'd walk downstairs, instead of using the elevator. I'd hold onto the banister and all, with this blood trickling out of the side of my mouth a little at a time. What I'd do, I'd walk down a few floors--holding onto my guts, blood leaking all over the place--and then I'd ring the elevator bell. As soon as old Maurice opened the doors, he'd see me with the automatic in my hand and he'd start screaming at me, in this very high-pitched, yellow-belly voice, to leave him alone. But I'd plug him anyway. Six shots right through his fat hairy belly. Then I'd throw my automatic down the elevator shaft--after I'd wiped off all the finger prints and all. Then I'd crawl back to my room and call up Jane and

> have her come over and bandage up my guts. I pictured her holding a cigarette for me to smoke while I was bleeding and all. (pp. 135-136)

The nature of his fantasy conforms to expectations of masculinity, even if Holden's actual behaviour does not.

The primary way by which aggression is enacted in the Boys' World constructed in the novels is in a highly embodied way, via physical violence. Physical violence can take two forms--noninterpersonal violence and interpersonal violence. Noninterpersonal violence is that which is directed at some*thing* rather than some*one*; it is usually a way of expressing feelings of anger or frustration. For example, in *Yea! Wildcats* (1944), when the basketball team is losing a game, the coach throws a chair against the wall and kicks a table. Mark (*Missing*, 1990) exclaims while frustrated, "'Oh, I don't know *what* do do'", and "slam[s] his hand against the trunk" (p. 53). In *Dogsong* (1985), Russell tells the story of something he once saw:

> One time he had seen a bushpilot who had crashed his plane near the village. The plane was broken in the middle and the pilot had stood screaming at it and kicking it for failing him and falling from the sky. (p. 16)

Noninterpersonal violence as a means of expressing frustration is another depiction of the point made in the Embodiment section of the chapter, wherein one of the ways masculinity is embodied is via the process of expressing emotions physically. Throwing a chair against the wall, slamming one's hand against a trunk, and kicking a plane are all bodily ways of expressing feelings of anger and frustration.

In addition to noninterpersonal violence, interpersonal violence is also prevalent in the Young Adult books. The entire plot of some stories focuses on interpersonal violence. For instance, *The Outsiders* (1967) is the story of a lower-class and upper-class gang in continual conflict. *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1973) is about a group of teenagers being hunted by the brother of a boy they ran over and killed in a car accident. *The Chocolate War* (1974) is the story of a competitive school chocolate sale gone awry, descending into violence directed at the school 'outsider'.

In other stories, while the central plot itself does not revolve around violence, interpersonal violence is still common. In *Catcher in the Rye* (1951) Holden considers himself to be spineless, as indicated previously, but he also responds with violence in some situations, such as the following.

> The next part I don't remember so hot. All I know is I got up from the bed, like I was going down to the can or something, and then I tried to sock him, with all my might, right smack in the toothbrush, so it would split his goddam throat open....Anyway, the next thing I knew I was on the goddam floor and he was sitting on my chest, with his face all red. That is, he had his goddam knees on my chest, and he weighed about a ton. He had hold of my wrists, too, so I couldn't take another sock at him. (pp. 56-57)

This behaviour is from someone who considers himself "one of those very yellow guys" (p. 115), and distinctly non-aggressive. Russell, the main character in *Dogsong* (1985) uses violence against his dogteam when they get loose and out of his control:

> Russell ran after them. Using the bow as a club, yelling and hitting and throwing them back, he finally got them under control.... (p. 47)

Through the use of violence against other people, or even against dogs (who are considered similar to people in the above Inuit story), a male can establish himself as leader of the pack. Interpersonal violence is a tool to establish dominance; the winner of a violent encounter is proven more powerful, for at least that moment in time, than the loser. Violence can be thought of as a form of competition, a game. The one who is stronger, or is the better fighter, wins the game. In *The Outsiders* (1967) the winning gang, that is the better fighters, can potentially win territory and more importantly, respect and power (at least until the next violent encounter). The winner of the violent game in *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1973) gets to live, while the loser dies. When Holden Caufield uses interpersonal violence in the above quotation, it is an attempt to establish his dominance and masculine status over the other individual involved; unfortunately for Holden, he does not win the fight, so his position as subordinate is established by the encounter. Connell (1995) has also found that interpersonal violence can be used as a tool to prove masculine dominance. His interviews with working-class men reveal that while they were growing up, boyhood violence was a common and acceptable way of gaining prestige or status within the peer group.

The centrality of interpersonal violence in the Boys' World is further substantiated by its prevalence in other forms of popular culture, such as westerns (Horrocks, 1995; Easthope, 1986), horror films (Horrocks, 1995), and Rambo-type movies (Milano, 1988). Violence prevails as the cornerstone of some popular music lyrics as well. For example, 'gangsta rap' has been widely criticized in the media for its lyrics based on male violence against women, gang violence against police officers, and men's violence against other men. In fact, the world of gangsta rap was rocked last year when the violence in lyrics became reality. Star rapper Tupac Shakur was murdered outside a Las Vegas casino, presumable by rival rappers. Within a few months, the rival rap artist suspected of orchestrating Shakur's murder, Biggie-Small, was shot and killed in retaliation. Forms of popular culture that are targeted at women are also characterized by male violence. Romance novels common in the 1970s, called "bodice-rippers" within the industry, were characterized by sexually-directed violence against women. Series romance novels in the 1980s, such as those by Harlequin, replaced male sexual violence against women with male violence used to protect the heroine, children, or animals.

Aggression through interpersonal violence is recognized as a fundamental component of a number of models of masculinity. Both Doyle (1995) and David and Brannon (1976) include aggression (with a focus on interpersonal violence) as one of their codes of ideal contemporary masculinity--Doyle calls this the *aggressive element* of masculinity, while David and Brannon label it the *Give 'em Hell!* component. The role of aggression through the history of male soldiering in the Western world is particularly evident. Whether referring to the the 'Warrior-Leader' of Ancient Greece (Doyle, 1995), the chivalric knight of the 12th century (Doyle, 1995), the Conquistador involved in overseas expansion from the 15th to the 17th century (Connell, 1995), or the men who created the New Republic of the U. S. in the 18th century (Pleck & Pleck, 1980), aggression was central. Looking to the American context in more detail, interpersonal violence became especially important to masculinity during expansion into the western frontier

(Dubbert, 1979); Pleck and Pleck (1980) call this type of masculinity the *He-Man*, and Rotundo (1993) uses the label *Self-Made Manhood* to describe the willingness to take risks in pursuit of success in face of Native resistance. This time in history is reflected in the stories of westerns (both films and popular formula-fiction books). Victorian guidebooks for American boys subsequently told their readers that "no right-thinking man...could walk away from a fight" (Dubbert, 1979, p. 33). During World War I, U. S. General Patton is quoted as saying that "all American men loved to fight; no *real* man did not" (p. 231). In the American context in particular, male violence embodied the anti-intellectual and pro-action sentiment that Dubbert (1979) says pervaded American culture during the Victorian era.

Interpersonal violence among men is particularly acceptable in the Young Adult novels when it is used in pursuit of justice. The story in *A Wrinkle in Time* (1962) suggests that aggression is necessary in such a situation. Charles Wallace's older brother says,

> "And Charles Wallace is going to have an awful time next year when he starts school. *We* know he's bright, but he's so funny when he's around other people and they're so used to thinking he's dumb. I don't know what's going to happen to him. Sandy and I'll sock anybody who picks on him, but that's all we can do." (p. 21)

Violence that is used to protect a little brother being picked on is violence that is especially well-justified. Connell (1995) suggests that "violence is OK when it is justified...and it is always justified when the other man starts it" (p. 99). The role of violence in the pursuit of justice will be addressed more thoroughly in the section on Morality later in this chapter.

Aggression in the form of interpersonal violence is so pervasive throughout the novels that it is given the appearance of being the fundamental nature of masculinity. This is most clearly illustrated in *Lord of the Flies* (1954) , which is a depiction of masculinity without the constraints of civilization. The story begins with groups of boys who have been air-dropped onto a deserted island for their protection after widespread war has broken out. The scattered boys find each other, and try to build a new life for themselves on the island while waiting to be rescued. This is an adult-free world, one with no structure, and the lack of structure enables the boys' most natural characteristics to emerge. Aggression in the form of violence is everywhere in this novel, both interpersonal and noninterpersonal. When Piggy criticizes Jack for letting the bonfire go out, Jack responds by punching Piggy in the stomach; this is only the beginning of the downward spiral into violence. Later on, the group starts out playfully re-enacting a successful pig hunt, but then there is a gradual transition from playful to violent, and the boy pretending to be the pig is injured. Over time, the urge for violence becomes overwhelming -- "the desire to squeeze and hurt was over-mastering" (p. 136). Their emotions become caught up in their violent actions:

> "He's going to beat Wilfred."
> "What for?"
> Robert shook his head doubtfully. "I don't know. He didn't say. He got angry and made us tie Wilfred up. He's been"--he giggled excitedly-- "he's been tied up for hours, waiting--". (p. 190)

The spiral into unrestrained violence continues. In the darkness, the boys mistake an injured friend of theirs, Simon, for the 'Beast' they think is hunting them. In a frenzy, they beat Simon to death. Two of the boys, Jack and Ralph, are in a continual struggle for leadership that becomes increasingly violent. Eventually, Jack has convinced everyone but Piggy and Ralph, to join him as leader. Jack's solution? He has Piggy murdered, and then starts a hunt for Ralph in order to kill him as well. They even set the island on fire to more easily find him. Just as the violence of unrestrained masculinity is about to reach its pinnacle in the death of the last source of opposition (Ralph), the constraints of civilization in the form of the British navy step in and rescue the boys from the island--Ralph's life is spared.

Some biological, anthropological, and sociobiological academic work also suggests that violence is an inherent part of the Boys' World. Some biologists suggest that testosterone creates an aggressive drive in men. Some anthropologists refer to the role of warrior that has been assigned to men in diverse culture across the world throughout human history. Sociobiologists suggest that male aggression has been crucial to the evolutionary survival of the human species. Some feminists also suggest that being male necessarily means being violent, and that women, children, and the environment are the victims (Griffin, 1978). At the turn of the 20th century, men were encouraged to give in to all of their 'natural' urges, including aggression, during the era of *Passionate Manhood* (Rotundo, 1993).

Although violence is prevalent in the Young Adult novels, it is not the only means by which masculinity is aggressive. There are male characters in the stories who are not violent, but this does not mean they cannot be aggressive in other ways. Aggression can refer to being "marked by driving energy or initiative", or "hostile...behavior or outlook" (Merriam-Webster dictionary); consequently, aggression can be enacted in various ways. It can be expressed in sport. Athletic competition requires an approach to the sport that is aggressive (marked by driving energy or initiative), although not violent.[5] In *Hot Rod* (1950), Bud is aggressive in car racing, doing anything necessary to beat his opponent--including taking reckless chances and running police roadblocks. Aggression in the competitive business is portrayed in *Yea! Wildcats* (1944), among the town's business leaders; these men are domineering, trying to use their positions of occupational prestige to coerce others to do their bidding. In *Catcher in the Rye* (1951) Holden Caufield, although violent at times, is aggressive more in terms of his way of looking at and thinking about the world. He interprets other people's actions and comments as hostile, and tries to dominate conversations, forcing others to agree with his opinions and perceptions of the world.

Clearly, there are many different ways of enacting masculine aggression. Lucy Komisar (1976) summarizes the breadth of aggression that pervades western society and that comes to enter the Boys' World:

> Little boys learn the connection between violence and manhood very early in life. Fathers indulge in mock prize fights and wrestling matches with eight-year-olds. Boys play cowboys and Indians with guns and bows and arrows that are proffered by their elders. They are gangsters or soldiers interchangeably--the lack of difference between the two is more evident to them than to their parents. They are encouraged to "fight back", and bloodied noses and black eyes become trophies of their pint-sized virility....The differences between boys and girls are defined in terms of violence. Boys are encouraged to rough-house; girls are taught to be gentle ("ladylike"). Boys are expected to get into fights, but admonished not to hit girls. (It is not "manly" to assault females--except, of course, sexually, but that comes later.) Boys who run away from fights are

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[5] This is not to say that violence is not a part of sport. Some sports require actions that elsewhere in society are considered acts of violence--boxing, kickboxing, some of the martial arts, and football. Other sports that have rules against violence may still legitimize certain violent acts. For example, fighting is an accepted (and expected) part of professional hockey, even though it results in a penalty. In fact, recently some interest groups proposed that fighting be eliminated from hockey through player suspensions or even criminal assault charges; the outcry from hockey fans was exceptional, and the idea was dropped.

> "sissies", with the implication that they are queer. As little boys become big boys, their education in violence continues. The leadership in this country today [the 1970s] consists of such little boys who attained "manhood" in the approved and heroic violence of World War II. They returned to a society in which street and motorcycle gangs, fast cars, and fraternity hazing confirmed the lessons of war--one must be tough and ready to inflict pain in order to get ahead.

Komisar's description of male aggression in its various forms nicely illustrates the diverse ways in which aggression is constructed as a part of the Boys' World in Young Adult novels as well.

Aggression can be individually-enacted, as in male fights with each other, or as one male tries to win a car race against another. Aggression can also be collectively-enacted, as when two street gangs are fighting for dominance, when two sports teams are aggressively pursue the championship, or when a company CEO and his board of directors pursue ruthless dominance in the business world. Collectivity is, in fact, the next structuring component of the Boys' World that we see.

Collectivity

The Boys' World seen in the Young Adult novels is comprised of collectivities, or male hang-out groups. These groups collectively enact masculinity, regardless of age. For example, in *Onion John* (1959) any man who is 'anyone' in the town of Serenity belongs to the Rotary Club. The Little League team serves as the core collectivity for the boys in Serenity. While in *Onion John* there are only two masculine collectivities, one for adults and one for children, in the novels as a whole there are many different types of collectivities, arising from the plural forms of masculinity that can exist among individuals. In *Catcher in the Rye* (1951) Holden repeatedly makes reference to the prevalence of masculine collectivities in various forms:

> The guys that are on the basketball team stick together, the Catholics stick together, the goddam intellectuals stick together, the guys that play bridge stick together. (p. 170)

In the above quotation, Holden refers to athletes comprising one type of hang-out group. Sport, in fact, is a good example of collectivity in action that is prevalent throughout the novels--basketball teams (*Yea! Wildcats*, 1944), football teams (*Missing*, 1990; *I Know What You Did Last Summer*, 1973), and baseball teams (*Onion John*, 1959).

As I pointed out in the previous section on Aggression, another type of collectivity can be one based on interpersonal violence. Violence is enacted collectively by street gangs in *The Outsiders* (1967), by informal groupings of stranded boys in *Lord of the Flies* (1954), and by 'the' gang that runs the high school (The Vigils) in *The Chocolate War* (1974).

The collective nature of masculinity is evident in the Boys' World as it is constructed in places other than the Young Adult novels as well. Connell (1995) reviews the development and change of Western masculinities over several centuries, and concludes that one of the bearers of western masculinity is the male hang-out group, whether referring to gay men working as social activists, working-class men hanging out in bars, sports teams on the playing field, or platoons of men on the battlefield. Researchers in the area of adolescent development suggest that a sense of belonging to a peer group, particularly a single-sex peer group, is especially important during adolescence (Atwater, 1996). In fact, recently Judith Harris (1998) has suggested that the peer group is of primary influence in youth development, and that parents are inconsequential and virtually interchangeable. The importance of the peer group for youth in particular in also evident in another form of popular culture, the teen series romance novel; in these books, the heroine typically becomes interested in the most popular boy of the most popular group at school, such as the quarterback of the football team.

Why are masculine collectivities of such importance? What do these collectivities do for the individuals who are a part of them? In the Young Adult novels, masculinity that is enacted collectively is more powerful than that enacted individually. For example, in *Onion John* (1959), a number of males decide that the house of one of the town residents is in terrible disrepair and must be rebuilt; it is only when the male Rotary Club decides to take on the project that the idea is set in motion. The superior power of the collectivity over the individual is also illustrated by the consequences of being outside of a collectivity. In *Catcher in the Rye* (1951), Holden describes himself as a loner, and proud of it; he is highly critical of all male hang-out groups. Yet at the same time, he spends most of the story searching for someone he, too, can make a connection with. By the end of the story we see the loner, Holden, as a very troubled young man who is gradually losing his grasp on reality. Jerry, in *The Chocolate War* (1974), is also an outsider, who must compete against the school gang--as the outsider, he inevitably loses.

In addition to power, the group can also serve as an arena for family-like support and belonging. in *Yea! Wildcats* (1944) the basketball coach is described as loving his players, and his players love him in return. Thus, within the male collectivity, a normatively unacceptable emotion among men, love, is legitimized (within the context of heterosexuality, of course). The emotional relationships among the boys in *The Outsiders* (1967) are similarly described. One of the Greasers, Johnny, has had a traumatic childhood characterized by chronic abuse suffered at the hands of his parents. The gang is his refuge from victimization, and provides him with a sense of 'family' that he has never had: "If it hadn't been for the gang, Johnny never would have known what love and affection are" (p. 20). While love is a normatively unacceptable emotion among men in North America, Yacovene (1990) points out that it has been acceptable among some groups of men in history, such as male abolitionists in the 19th century.

Being a part of a particular hang-out group can also serve the individual by signifying or enhancing his masculinity. Being recognized as part of a group can serve as a status marker; being accepted into a group can be a source of individual recognition and value. For example, being placed on the roster of the school football team marks the individual male's status throughout the school, as indicated in *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1973). Research into high school popularity, in fact, reveals that, on average, being marked as a school athlete, a member of one of the athletic teams, accords the highest status of all groups in the school (Rice, 1996). The individual's masculinity can also be enhanced by association with a group, in a situation in which he might otherwise be perceived as a Sissy. Raymond, in *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1973), is distinctly non-athletic in a community in which athleticism is one of the key virtues of masculinity. However, although Ray is "no major athlete himself, he did have athletes as companions" (p. 44), serving as a tutor for most of the members of the football team. When Ray's father, a former football player himself, discovers that his son is at least hanging out with football players, he suddenly develops a whole new respect for his son.

The power, belonging/support, status, and enhancement of individual masculinity that being part of a collectivity provides is also evident in contemporary North American society through the pervasiveness of street gangs. Cities in the U. S. in particular have been described in the media as having an epidemic of gang problems, wherein gangs usually consist of adolescent and younger adult males. These gangs confer a degree of power and benefits the individual male would not otherwise receive; in some situations, not being a part of any gang can entail actual physical harm to the outsider. Interviews with gang members often refer to a sense of family-like support that the gang provides, materially, financially, and emotionally. In some communities being accepted as a member of a particular gang confers higher status within the neigbourhood, especially in those gangs that require a new recruit to prove his manhood prior to becoming a member.[6]

Collectivity has always been important in terms of military combat (Connell, 1995; Doyle, 1995; David & Brannon, 1976), in which "loyalty to comrades" is perceived as "the mark of moral manhood" (Dubbert, 1979, p. 152; Doyle, 1995); even the military-like combat of boys playing within the 'Boy Culture' of the Victorian era required loyalty to one's group (Rotundo, 1990). However, Dubbert suggests that it was not until after World War II that collective masculinity came to replace individual masculinity in importance. As society, and particularly the public sphere became increasingly bureaucratic and complex, a sense of belongingness came to be significant for establishing masculinity; a 'man' had to be able to schmooze, play the game, and hobnob with those in authority in order to gain positioning within those powerful groups. Specifically which groups are the powerful ones varies, based on the individual's actual or aspired station in life. For some males, the most powerful group may be the local street gang. For others, it may be an athletic team, a college fraternity, a debating club, a country club, or a business group.

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[6] Martin Sanchez Jankowski (1991) has done considerable ethnographic work with male street gangs across the United States, and addresses all of these issues in substantial detail.

The period following World War II, as described by Dubbert (1979), established a Boys' World comprised of several diverse masculine groups. At the close of the 20th century the Boys' World continues to have this composition, which is depicted in Young Adult novels and elsewhere. Although being part of a group is important, not all males within a group are necessarily equal in status or power. Hierarchies often exist within these groups, bringing us to the next structural component of the Boys' World that we have encountered.

Hierarchy

There are many ways of enacting masculinity, as illustrated in each of the conditions and components of masculinity addressed thus far. Some males are more emotional than others, some are more aggressive or are aggressive in different ways than others. While being part of a group is important, there are many different kinds of groups that males can belong to--athletic, intellectual, business-oriented, or violent. However, the presence of plurality or diversity, or simply being a member of a masculine grouping does not necessarily entail equality. Not all males, and not all ways of enacting masculinity are equally legitimized. Some ways of enacting masculinity confer more status, power, or honor than others; certain males are considered more 'successful' at manhood than others. The masculinity that is constructed in the novels is hierarchical, with individual males holding different positions within the hierarchy.

Hierarchies can be implicit or explicit. Implicit hierarchies are not formally-defined, but are informally-recognized by those involved in the hierarchy, or those observing the hierarchy from the outside. For example, in *Yea! Wildcats* (1944), the town businessmen, who are also the school board officials, do not officially play a role in the state high school basketball league. However, informally their wealth, status, and power is used to control the league, and is even used to control the outcome of important games. The society that exists in *The Giver* (1993) is one presumably constructed on the basis of equality. It is a utopian, collectivist society in which no single member is supposed to be more or less important than any other. Life has been structured in a way that has removed many difference among the population. 'Nurturers' are equal in official status to 'Engineers' and to 'Laborers'. However, in daily practice an informal hierarchy of status and honor has developed, and physical 'Laborers' are at the bottom of the hierarchy.

Explicit hierarchies are those that are formally-defined. For example, at the top of the hierarchy in *The Thief* (1996) is the King of the land, followed by his Magus (a sorcerer and core advisor), followed by a Circle of Advisors. An explicit hierarchy is also present in *The Giver* (1993), in addition to the implicit hierarchy already discussed. The top of the hierarchy in this utopian society is the Receiver of Memories, the only person who holds memories of human life prior to the creation of the utopian world. Beneath the Receiver are a few Elders, and beneath the Elders are the 'masses', that is everyone else in society. The Elders make the decisions, the Receiver advises them when requested, and the 'masses' follow the rules and fulfill the occupational roles assigned to them by the Elders.

Other researchers in the area of masculinity refer to hierarchical ideals as well. David and Brannon (1976) include The Big Wheel as one of the four components of ideal masculinity, referring to striving to become the top of the heap, or at least as close to the top of the heap as possible. Doyle (1995) describes a similar component of contemporary hegemonic masculinity, which he labels the Success element. Brittan (1989) suggests that hierarchy frames contemporary gender overall; he says that

> when we talk about the specificity of a masculinity, it is always in terms of its relationship to the hierarchical heterosexual structuring of gender relationships. (p. 18)

Dubbert (1979) has even found the idea of a masculine hierarchy addressed in Victorian guidebooks for boys; the overarching purpose of these guidebooks was to ensure that young American boys attained 'success' in their pursuit of manhood, where success meant being at or near the top of the hierarchy.

Thus, the Boys' World is a hierarchical world. There are varying levels of power, authority, status, and success. In addition, there are multiple hierarchies based on what types of groups different males belong to. Some hierarchies are sports-oriented. For instance, Barry (*I Know What You Did Last Summer,* 1973) is accorded the highest masculine status by other characters in the story because he is the quarterback of the college football team. The business world can serve as the arena for other masculine hierarchies, as is the case in *Yea! Wildcats* (1944), in which the town's most successful businessmen are also the town's most powerful men. Violence can serve as an arena for hierarchies of males. In *Lord of the Flies* (1954), Jack eventually reaches the top of the heap via his fighting skills and his cold-hearted, almost sociopathic willingness to use those skills in the pursuit of leadership; the other positions on the hierarchy are determined by their degree of similarity to Jack's qualities.

Furthermore, hierarchies vary in that they do not always involve levels of power. For example, in *The Giver* (1993) there is a hierarchy of power, over which the Elders preside as the decision-makers. But there is also a hierarchy of honor. The Receiver presides over the hierarchy of honor, and this position of honor is perceived as the highest position in society overall. The old Receiver points this out to Jonas, who has been selected to replace him:

> "But sir," Jonas suggested, "since you have so much power--"
> The man corrected him. "Honor," he said firmly. I have great honor. So will you. But you will find out that that is not the same as power." (p. 84)

The plurality of hierarchies is intensified in that there can even be variation among individuals in terms of their own personal ideas of hierarchy:

> Ambiades, I realized, was the kind of person who like to put people in a hierarchy, and he wanted me to understand that I was at the bottom of his. He was supposed to treat me politely in spite of my subservient position, and I was supposed to be grateful. (*The Thief*, 1996, p. 39)

Thus, there is some degree of subjectivity involved in hierarchical ranking, and in the nature of hierarchies themselves.

The notion that there is plurality and some degree of subjectivity in hierarchies is also emphasized by others in the field. David and Brannon (1976) suggest that there are many different ways of being The Big Wheel, many different ways of attaining success as a man. A man, they say, can become a Big Wheel through his occupation, income, material possessions, or sexual prowess. Among youth in particular, they suggest that sports is an especially important means of becoming a Big Wheel. The *Common Man* (Pleck & Pleck, 1980) or the *Self-Made Man*

(Rotundo, 1993) of the 19th century sought status through financial success in the growing industrial capitalist economy. The *He-Man* (Pleck & Pleck, 1980) of that same century sought success through physical means, such as sports; Bederman (1995) emphasizes the popularity of heavyweight boxing at this time, even resulting in riots throughout the U. S. when the first Black heavyweight boxing champion was crowned.

Individual circumstances determine the way a male will try to become successful as a 'man'. Thus, for example, among working-class youth, for whom many paths toward success are blocked, the way to become a Big Wheel may be through street gang violence. Among male professors, who in many ways break a masculine rule by *thinking* rather than *doing*, a hierarchy specific to that life circumstance is created--how many publications he has, and the prestige of the journals in which he has published. Of course, as a growing number of women have become university professors in the years since David and Brannon (1976) addressed this issue, they too have been drawn into this publishing hierarchy.

The higher a male's position on one of these hierarchies, the better; the prime position, of course, is the top. Gaining the top position in a masculine hierarchy, becoming a leader, requires that the male distinguish himself as an individual somewhat separate from the group. That is, while the leader is a member of the particular collectivity in which the hierarchy exists, as leader he has demonstrated that he is in some way *better* than the rest of the group--he is the best fighter, the best athlete, or the wealthiest businessman. Separating the individual from the rest of the hierarchy in pursuit of leadership is explicitly illustrated in *The Giver* (1993). When Jonas is selected by the Elders to be trained as the new Receiver of Memories, it is because of certain outstanding traits that he possesses. The Elders have recognized that he has unusual levels of intelligence, integrity, and courage in comparison to society's collective masses. Jonas even has an unusual physical appearance that distinguishes him from everyone else; while almost everyone in that society has dark eyes and hair, Jonas has blond hair and pale blue eyes. Upon being selected as the new Receiver, he is formally separated from the others for his training. He has a new set of rules to live by, and no longer has to follow the rules set out for everyone else. Jonas is allowed to lie, he is permitted to ask any question of any citizen which they are then require to answer, and he is no longer allowed to engage in the daily family practice of Dreamtelling.

The path to leadership, as well as the path to other positions in the hierarchy, is reached through competition with others, whether that competition is intentional or not. In relation to other males in the hierarchy, the individual is ranked and receives his position. How do his athletic skills compare to the skills of his teammates? How many fights has he won, relative to his peers in the gang? What kind of profit did his company make in comparison to its competitors?

Victorian guidebooks for boys also emphasized the importance of competition against other males in attaining masculine status (Dubbert, 1979). In these guidebooks, boys were told that they must demonstrate through competition that they, as individual males, were *more* manly, or *more* successful as men, than any other individual males. Competition is the means by which hierarchical positioning is determined. Yet competition does not only exist in relation to hierarchical ordering; it also is one of the structural components of masculinity in itself.

Competition

The Boys' World constructed in the novels is a competitive world, with competition serving as a means to an end as well as an end in itself. The role of competition in achieving a position in a hierarchy of status of some type was addressed in the previous section of this chapter. Success at competition improves masculine status in a number of possible ways. One of the clearest examples of male competition and resulting status is within sport. In *Hot Rod* (1950) athletic competition is via autoracing. Bud must make the 'Run to Trenton' in under 30 minutes in order to prove himself worthy of the respect of his peers. To make this time, he must break the law with excessive speed, and run police roadblocks. *Yea! Wildcats* (1944) focuses on the competitive plight of a basketball team seeking the state championship; the story culminates in the championship game.

Organized sports in particular are recognized as important sites of masculine competition, especially for youth (Connell, 1995; David & Brannon, 1976; Rotundo, 1990). The very nature of organized athletic leagues links competition with hierarchy. Individuals (as in tennis) or teams (as in hockey) compete against each other throughout the season. Hierarchical ranking then determines who will compete in the playoffs, with the lowest ranking athletes or teams eliminated from each successive round of competition. The top two ranked players/teams eventually compete in a championship game, and the winner reaches the top of the hierarchy.

Competitive violence can also serve as a way to achieve hierarchical status, as illustrated in Jack's rise to the top in *Lord of the Flies* (1954), which was described in the section on Hierarchy. Throughout world history, war has served as the prime example of violent competition in pursuit of power (David & Brannon, 1976; Connell, 1995; Doyle, 1995; Dubbert, 1979). Nations (or groups within a nation) compete on the battlefield to establish leadership of the hierarchy of nations. Within the military, comrades compete through violent performance for approval from the brass, for medals of honor, and for promotions through the ranks. During the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, competition was in terms of violent potential. An arms race developed, with each nation stockpiling increasing numbers of nuclear weapons, in order to establish itself as the most powerful nation on earth. By the end of the Cold War, each nation had enough nuclear weaponry to destroy the entire planet several times over.

Criminal competition in pursuit of status is another one of the diverse ways masculine competition can occur, which illustrates David and Brannon's (1976) point that hierarchy-driven competition can arise in any type of situation, depending on the individual circumstances of men's lives. The main character in *The Thief* (1996) pursues recognition as the best thief in the land.

> The guards looked at me as they passed on their rounds, a tribute to my reputation. As part of my plans for greatness, I had bragged about my skills in every wine store in the city. I had wanted everyone to know that I was the finest thief since mortal men were made.... (p. 21)

To further prove his point, when released from prison he engages in a competition to find a hidden treasure before other seekers are able to find it. He is not permitted to keep this treasure, as he is finding it for the King as a condition for his release from prison; what he gains from this competition is status within a hierarchy of thieves.

To further illustrate the idea that competition for status arises in the individual circumstances of men's lives, we can look at the nature of competition in *Where the Red Fern Grows* (1961). Billy lives a poverty-stricken rural life. It is unlikely that he will ever achieve status through education, occupation, income, or street gang violence. His search for status is through the community's hunting competition. His performance in the contest will prove his worth as a hunter (which in that community proves one's worth as a 'man'), and the worth of his hunting dogs in comparison to the other hunting dogs in the competition.

In these novels, competition can serve as a means to ends other than status, once again varying according to each individual's life situation. In *Interstellar Pig* (1984), Barney must win a board game that becomes reality, against a group of aliens who want to eradicate the human race and conquer Earth. In *Dogsong* (1985) Russell's competition is a race against Death; he says to himself, "I must win this race" (p. 169). In *The Westing Game* (1978) the purpose of competition is to be the first to solve a murder and thereby win an inheritance from the victim's estate.

Competition to achieve various ends, such as status, is a fundamental part of manhood according to many models or conceptualizations of masculinity (David & Brannon, 1976; Doyle, 1995; Connell, 1995). A 'man' does his best to be the winner in whatever form competition occurs. American war hero General Patton is quoted as saying that all *real* American men "loved to win" and "didn't give a hoot for a loser" (Dubbert, 1979, p. 231). The winner gains something that the loser does not--power, status, honor, money, or even life itself.

However, competition is not only important to masculinity in pursuit of specific ends. It is also significant as an end in itself--competition for the sake of being competitive. For example, in *The Outsiders* (1967) the violent confrontations between rival gangs the Greasers and the Socs are not only means of gaining honor and territorial power. Competition in itself is portrayed as necessary because the "warfare [is actually] between the social classes" (p. 19). The proletariat must fight the bourgeoisie, if only to make the point that the powerless will not take their suppression lying down--the fight is for the sake of continuing to fight.

Competition as an end in itself is also evident when the competition is against oneself rather than against others. This is depicted in *The Maestro* (1995), in which the internationally-renowned composer Nog is in continuous competition against himself, which leads him to abandon stage performances:

> "When you are on stage playing the piano, if you make a mistake--then you make a mistake and nothing can be done about it. Perfection is not possible on the concert stage. I'm rather keen on perfection, myself. And that's why I don't play live anymore. Are you following me so far?" (p. 48)

A 'man' is competitive, whether against others or against himself, whether in pursuit of something that will be accorded the winner or simply for the sake of being competitive. By the early 20th century, Rotundo (1993) suggests rivalry had become an end in itself for men fulfilling the ideals of this era of *Passionate Manhood*. Near the end of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century, the U. S. economy was growing much more rapidly than the European economy. Consequently, the U. S. economy was also more competitive, and with men playing the primary role in the economic expansion, American masculinity in particular became necessarily competitive. So competitive, in fact, that boys had to be trained in competition from a very young age; this is evident in the emphasis on physical and athletic competition prescribed in Victorian guidebooks for boys (Dubbert, 1979). Competition in sport was thought to prepare boys for economic competition as adult men. That leads us to the next structural component of masculinity, athleticism.

Athleticism

The Boys' World is one filled with male sports. As previously mentioned, athleticism and sport are regarded as crucial to youthful masculinity in particular (David & Brannon, 1976; Dubbert, 1979; Connell, 1995). Because many adult arenas of masculine success are denied to boys, athletics serve as one of the ways that boys can enact masculinity. The role of athleticism and sport in other structural components of masculinity and conditions of masculinity has already been addressed in the section on embodiment, No Sissy Stuff, aggression, collectivity, hierarchy, and competition. Yet athleticism is also a distinct part of masculinity in itself. Males are athletic, or at the very least are *interested* in sports.

In the Young Adult novels, athleticism is often an explicit part of the descriptions of characters and situations. When Ralph first meets Piggy (*Lord of the Flies,* 1954) he brags "'I could swim when I was five. Daddy taught me'" (p. 11). In *Onion John* (1959), all of the boys in town are on the Little League team; the description of the championship game is several pages long. Barry, in *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1973), is a football hero. In the same story, Ray's father is a retired professional football player who now owns a sporting goods store. When Bud is introduced to Ray, he asks, "'Raymond Bronson? You any relation to Booter Bronson who runs the sporting goods store?'" (p. 31); thus, athletic success is something that is significant enough that the athletes are even in retirement, widely recognized. The emphasis on the value of sports is overt in *Catcher in the Rye* (1951). Holden attends Pencey Prep school. At Pencey Prep, the administrative goal is "molding boys into splendid, clear-thinking young men" (p. 4). One of the primary ways this is done is through sports.

> It was the last game of the year, and you were supposed to commit suicide or something if old Pencey didn't win. (p. 5)

Sports, at Pencey Prep boarding school, is central to the lives of everyone in the community, not just the players.

Athletes themselves usually define themselves and structure their lives on the basis of their sports activities. For example, in *The Westing Game* (1978) Doug Hoo is a high school track star; his sport is everything to him.

> Doug Hoo ducked Turtle's whizzing braid. Touch her precious pigtail, even by accident, and she'll kick you in the shins, the brat. He couldn't chance an injury to his legs, not with the big meet coming. The track star began to jog in place. (p. 8)

In fact, Doug Hoo is constantly jogging in place or running up and down the apartment staircase. His dedication pays off in a few years when he wins a gold medal at the Olympics.

Even if not an explicit part of character descriptions or plot elements, the value of athleticism is still emphasized as an implicit assumption about male life. That is, sports are frequently described incidentally, or as a background event. In *A Wrinkle in Time* (1962) male athleticism is briefly mentioned:

> When Meg got home from school her mother was in the lab, and the [male] twins were at Little League.... (p. 23)

Similarly, in *Catcher in the Rye* (1951) a description of the setting mentions a group of boys who are "chucking a football around in front of the academic building" (p. 7). The informal football game is not a part of the central story, but instead is a naturalized component of the larger scene in which the central story is occurring.

The construction of athleticism as a core component of the Boys' World in the novels also occurs by indicating how unacceptable a lack of athleticism is. This point is made overtly in the government-controlled society in *The Giver* (1993). One of the boys in the community, Asher, is lacking in athletic skills; the Elders perceive this as problematic and create a treatment program for him.

> There was nothing special about it [throwing an apple back and forth]; it was an activity that he [Jonas] had performed countless times: throw, catch; throw; catch. It was effortless for Jonas, and even boring, though Asher enjoyed it, and playing catch was a required activity for Asher because it would improve his hand-eye coordination, which was not up to standards. (p. 24)

Asher's program is a unique program. Thus, it is clear that a lack of this type of skill is not normative in this community.

In the novels, male characters who are lacking in athletic skill often see it as a problem in themselves as well. Ray, in *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1973), describes his own lack of muscle and his inability to play football as a personal defect.

> In some families this would not have mattered. When you were the only son of a man who had once been a professional football player, it mattered a lot. (p. 43)

Note that the fact that Ray is the only *son*, not the only *child*, and this makes his non-athletic qualities problematic. It is also interesting to note that while Ray considers himself to be non-athletic, he is described as being good at golf and tennis. Similarly, Holden in *Catcher in the Rye* (1951) describes himself an non-athletic, but is good at golf as well. How can someone who excels at golf or tennis not be considered athletic? It may be because of the individualistic rather than collective nature of these sports; a *real* sport is a team sport, played in concert with other males.

The value of sports as a collective performance is primary. Ideally, a man or boy should excel at team sports. Failing to do so runs the risk of entering the realm of the Sissy. However, there is a way that males lacking in athletic skills are still able to participate in the athletic component of masculinity--through being a sports fan, demonstrating both an enthusiasm and knowledge about sports. In the basketball story *Yea! Wildcats* (1944), not every male plays basketball. However, those who do not play basketball still know and like it. "Like...just about every male citizen in town, Buck knew as much about basketball as any coach" (pp. 38-39). In *The Westing Game* (1978) middle-aged podiatrist Dr. Wexler misses an important tenants' meeting because, he tells them, he has been called to an emergency. His wife points out that it is actually "an emergency Packers game in Green Bay" (p. 30). The enthusiasm shown for the game, as a fan, enables males to be athletic in a vicarious way. Connell (1995) refers to men who watch sports rather than play sports as enacting a *complicit* rather than *hegemonic* masculinity; they do not embody the idealized standard themselves, yet their actions enable them to play a role in and realize some of the benefits from the hegemonic masculine order.

The role of sport in manhood has been widely recognized by other researchers as well. David and Brannon (1976) see sport as a part of three of their four components of ideal masculinity. First, sport can be a part of the competitive, status-seeking Big Wheel. Not only can athletic skill place a male at the top of a sports hierarchy, but in the 1990s excelling at a sport enables a male to become a Big Wheel in other ways as well, such as through financial success. Professional athletes are paid astronomical salaries; earlier this year, one professional baseball player signed a five-year $91 million contract! His high position in the sports hierarchy led to a position on a financial hierarchy as well. Second, David and Brannon (1976) see sport as part of the aggressive, dominating Give 'em Hell! component of masculinity. Third, the physical strength and mental toughness required for sports makes a man part of the Sturdy Oak component of their model as well.

Why is athleticism important to manhood? Both David and Brannon (1976) and Dubbert (1979) suggest it is because of the conceptual link that has been made in discourse between physical strength and moral strength. A physically-strong man has traditionally been seen as a moral man, a man with sound character. Conversely, a man with a weak body has been seen as a man with a weak character as well. Dubbert (1979) points out that the link between the strength/skill of the body and the strength of the character came to be emphasized during the Victorian era, at which time physical exertion and athletic participation were prescribed to boys to help them develop a sound moral character. The phrase *muscular Christianity* was used in Victorian England and America to describe the ideal man, strong in both body and soul. Arnold Rugby, headmaster of the Rugby public school in England during the late 19th century was a key figure in the concept of muscular Christianity. To deal with the hooliganism he saw pervading the lives of the boys attending public schools, he instituted intensive physical exercise and sport for his male students. The discipline that was required to take the body to a higher level he assumed would also take the spirit to a higher level. Morality was perceived as necessary for masculinity, thus athleticism was required for masculinity as well. Morality is, in fact, the next structural element of masculinity in the Young Adult novels.

Morality

The Boys' World is a moral world, one comprised of principles. A 'man' lives by his principles and tries to ensure that others will live by those principles as well; in Victorian guidebooks for boys, this quality is labeled "male honor" (Dubbert, 1979, p. 34). For example, in *Interstellar Pig* (1984) one of the characters emphasizes his morality by saying, "'They even tried to bribe me, but I have my ethics'" (p. 5).

Morality can exist in various forms. Morality in the form of organized religion is one possibility, as in *The One-Eyed Cat* (1987), in which the main character's father is a minister, well-respected in the community. Morality can also exist as a clear difference between Right and

Wrong. This moral message is particularly evident in *Hot Rod* (1950). Bud is a skilled, but reckless driver; he is good at it but takes unnecessary risks, putting his own life and the lives of others in danger. Furthermore, he is willing to break the law to accomplish his goals. Near the end of the story the town holds a Roadeo--a test of driving skills. Bud and a number of other reckless participants think that they stand the best chance of winning. However, the winner of the Roadeo is a passive, quiet, cautious, rule-abiding driver. The message: following society's rules is Right, and makes you a winner, while not following the rules means that you will never win. In fact, the consequences for not following society's rules can be even more severe. One of the reckless young men who was supposed to be in the Roadeo dies in a fiery car accident, along with all of his passengers. The police tell the young men in the community that this incident illustrates the importance of following the rules.

In other books, morality is defined internally rather than externally by society's rules. For example, in *The Giver* (1993), society's rules are strictly upheld by the practice of 'Release' for the rule breakers. One of the rules is that no citizen is permitted to step outside the boundaries of the community. This rule is especially important for the Receiver, because if he leaves the community, his memories of emotion and individuality will enter the minds of all citizens, presumably creating anarchy. While training as the new Receiver, Jonas determines that society's rules are Wrong, and that the memories he holds should be available to everyone. Consequently, he intentionally breaks the rules by running away from the community. Sometimes, the rules are Wrong. Sometimes, the rules are immoral. A 'man' knows what is Right, regardless of what the rules are.

Furthermore, a 'man' will use whatever means necessary to stand up for what is Right. Morality only exists if it is proven by physical action. One's morals are only evident by what is done to stand up for those morals. For example, in *The Pigman* (1968) John starts a physical fight with Norton, who has broken all of Mr. Pignati's prized glass and ceramic pigs; earlier in the story, John says, "I knew I'd kill Norton if he hurt the old man" (p. 85). Violence is legitimized in this situation because it is in pursuit of justice and morality.

In the novels, morals are meaningless if not enacted. A Sissy may have very strong ideas of Right and Wrong, but because he is not willing to stand up for those abstract ideals with physical action, his ideals are not accepted by others. He may have ideals, but he is not moral. For example, Piggy (*Lord of the Flies*, 1954) has strong ideas about the importance of cooperation and the dangers of competition among the boys on the island if they are to survive until rescued. By the end of the story the reader knows that Piggy was, indeed, right. However, because he was not willing to stand up and fight for those ideals in the face of resistance, Piggy is not constructed as a moral character--instead, he is a Sissy.

The link between morality and physical action is also evident in Victorian guidebooks for boys, which told boys that "one became manly as the conflict with evil was pursued courageously and relentlessly" (Dubbert, 1979, p. 33).

> Having the courage and bravery to stand and fight for one's convictions and having the moral honor and physical stamina to see the battle through were the crucial attributes any manly American male was supposed to possess. (Dubbert, 1979, p. 55)

Even Ralph Waldo Emerson, a self-confessed intellectual (that is, one who spent time *thinking* rather than *doing*), who saw himself as lacking in masculinity, said that "nothing could be more manly than going into combat to fight for one's principles" (cited in Dubbert, 1979, p. 57). Emerson considered the boys and men who were willing to fight during the Civil War as the epitome of manliness. They were willing to act in support of their moral ideals, they were willing to kill other for their ideals, and they were willing to risk their own lives. That they were men with sound character was clear to everyone around them.

The moral nature of manhood is evident in a wide range of forms of popular culture. Western films, popular during the mid-20th century, were typically stories of good versus evil. The 'good guy' wore the white hat and the 'bad guy' wore the black hat. The white-hatted hero had to relentlessly pursue, and then capture or kill the black-hatted, horse-stealing, cattle-rustling, woman-assaulting, outlaws.

The story of Robin Hood, most recently told in a movie starring Kevin Costner, is also a tale of moral masculinity. Robin Hood breaks the law, but in pursuit of justice for the peasants being oppressed at the hands of the immoral aristocrats--he robs from the rich and gives to the poor. The story of Robin Hood has been told in many formats, including books, film, and even children's cartoons.

Even women's romance novels emphasize the moral nature of masculinity. The heroes in romance novels are highly principled, and are willing to stand up for those principles. The hero of historical romance novels might prove his morality by battling pirates or bringing down a cruel monarch. In contemporary romance novels, he might prove his morality by knocking out the new ranchhand who is mistreating an animal, or by manhandling the drunk bar patron who is harassing the new woman in town.

As you can see, the moral component of masculinity can be enacted in many way, as long as it is being en-*acted*, that is, through physical action of some sort. The Boys' World constructed in the Young Adult novels, westerns, the tales of Robin Hood, and romance novels, is a world of principles and the willingness to stand up for those principles.

This brings us to the last structural component of the Boys' World as it is constructed in the novels--adventure. Masculinity is adventurous, exciting, challenging, and risk-taking.

Adventure

The Boys' World is an adventurous world, whether in terms of events that occur, the activities males choose to engage in, or the occupations that adult men can choose. Some characters enjoy adventure and seek it intentionally. Others do not seek it, but when adventure is thrust upon them, they rise to the challenge. Bud (*Hot Rod*, 1950) seeks adventure through car racing, risking his life in doing so: "It had never occurred to him that he might be injured or killed, or that he should be afraid" (p. 6). In *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1973) adventure is sought by two characters, Bud and Collingsworth, through military participation. With quiet admiration, other characters say, "He's been through Vietnam" (p. 37). Other male characters are compared to Bud and Collingsworth, and are seen as falling short of masculine standards because of a lack of military participation.

There are no age limitations to seeking adventure. One of the characters in *A Wrinkle in Time* (1962) says "sometimes during vacations some of the boys go looking for thrills" (p. 25), referring to boys of all ages. In *The Maestro* (1995) 14-year-old Burl runs away from home, traveling through the wilderness, after being abused by his father. In *Dogsong* (1985) Russell begins an adventure in his pursuit of manhood, at the urging of one of the village elders:

> "But there is one thing you must do now to become a man. You must not go home."
> "Not go home? I do not understand."
> "You must leave with the dogs. Run long and find yourself. When you leave me you must head north and take meat and see the country. When you do that you will become a man. Run as long as you can." (p. 72)

Young *Johnny Tremain* (1943), aged 14, embarks on an adventure during the Revolutionary War, alongside the likes of Samuel Adams and John Hancock, in his pursuit of manhood. Thus, we see that adventure is the path to manhood; a boy must seek adventure before he becomes a man. Ned (*The One-Eyed Cat*, 1987) is shown the importance of adventure on his birthday, when he receives a number of adventure books as gifts--*Treasure Island, Robin Hood and His Merry Men,* and *Call of the Wild.*

Other characters do not seek adventure, but respond when it is thrust upon them. In *Hatchet* (1987) Brian must first land the small plane in which he is a passenger, when the pilot dies of a heart attack. Then he must survive in the wilderness of Canada's north until rescued. In the process of this larger adventure, he embarks on a number of smaller adventures, such as having to swim back out to the plane submerged in the lake to find the survival pack. In *Silverwing* (1997), Shade is a young male bat who is separated from his community on their annual migration, during a violent storm. He must continue the migration on his own, and try to find his family and friends. Shade's ultimate success in his adventure brings him status in the community--he is seen as being more grown up, on the inside and the outside:

> His mother had told him he'd grown. He was genuinely surprised. He'd stared at his outstretched wings, his chest and arms. He *did* look bigger. (p. 271)

While Russell (*Dogsong*, 1985) intentionally embarks on an adventure in his search for manhood, he has another level of adventure thrust upon him when he is caught in a blizzard with a very sick young woman in need of help. He must get her to a village, yet he is in the middle of nowhere and does not know how to begin to find one. Nevertheless, he excels at this unexpected challenge:

> The girl-woman named Nancy got worse, grew weaker, but his strength grew with her weakness, his strength grew and went into the dogs. (p. 169)

The adventure makes his physical body stronger, and the increased strength in his body enables him to more effectively pursue the adventure and win his race against Death.

The nature of Russell's adventure illustrates the point that participating in adventure, whether by choice or by necessity, brings something to a male's life that makes him more manly. In Russell's case it strengthens his body, which makes him more effective at enacting masculinity. Dubbert (1979) suggest that adventure proves that a man has courage, and David and Brannon (1976) consider courage as the defining characteristic of the Sturdy Oak component of masculinity. A 'man' is courageous, but it is only certain that he has courage when that courage is tested (Dubbert, 1979). While Dubbert (1979), David and Brannon (1976), and Doyle (1995) all focus on war as the arena within which male courage is proven, Rotundo (1993) and Pleck and Pleck (1980) point to Western expansion in the 19th century and business pursuits as arenas within which male courage has been proven as well. The Young Adult novels also depict diverse means by which adventure can be experienced and courage thereby proven--reckless car racing, running away, braving nature's elements, risking death on the battlefield. Furthermore, adventure not only proves one's courage, but also further develops one's courage, strength, morality, or other qualities important to masculinity.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE BOYS' WORLD

Let's take a look back at what makes up the Boys' World as it is constructed in the Young Adult novels--the world *of* boys, the world *for* boys. The Boys' World is characterized by certain types and degrees of emotional expression, naturalized aggression, collectivities or male hang-out groups, hierarchies within those groups, competition, athleticism, sound moral character, and adventure. It is heterosexual, comprised of active bodies, and no Sissies are allowed. While we looked at the Boys' World through the window of Young Adult novels for boys, other windows reveal these same characteristics; these other windows include other forms of popular culture, current events, and the work of other researchers in the academic domain.

Surprisingly, the structural components that we have seen on our journey are consistent through the three time periods from which we selected the books: (a) 1940-1959; (b) 1960-79; and (c) 1980-1997. Each of the components addressed is prevalent in each time period, and is present in similar ways; thus, for example, intentional and unintentional adventure that proves manly courage, can be seen from the first story written in 1943 to the last story written in 1997. There certainly were other types of changes in the novels over the time periods, but not changes in the structure of masculinity. For example, intergenerational relationships show considerable change. In books from the first time period, adults are portrayed as the authority figures, as those who 'know better', and the young people in the stories eventually come to see that the adults were right all along. Intergenerational relationships in books from the second time period are confrontational. Adults are portrayed as coercive, immoral, incompetent, and searching for undeserved power; in a number of stories from this time, adult-free worlds are portrayed. In the third time period, intergenerational relationships are more harmonious, and the relationships between adults and youth are portrayed as bidirectional. In the books that include female characters, there are changes in portrayals of those characters as well. Female characters in stories from the 1980s and 1990s are not passive, quiescent followers of their husbands, boyfriends, or brothers; they are educated, independent, and active in the stories. Female characters appear to be far less stereotypical over the three time periods. Yet masculinity is unchanged.

I say 'surprisingly' about this lack of change because this means that at a significant portion of the Boys' World has remained unchanged for more than 50 years, despite that fact that so many other social changes have occurred during that time. In the 1990s, the majority of women, and even the majority of mothers of preschool-aged children, are in the labour force. Beginning in 1995, Statistics Canada has found that for the first time in Canadian history, more young women are receiving a post-secondary education than are young men. The majority of Canadian couples (73%) are dual-earner couples, meaning that the majority of children spend at least some time in childcare (Vanier Institute for the Family, 1998). Within the home, research by Scott Coltrane (1996) and Arlie Hochschild (1988) indicates that male 'sharing' in the household division of labour approximately doubled between the 1960s and the 1980s. In the 1960s, only approximately 10% of husbands shared the housework or childcare; in the 1980s that proportion rose to approximately 20%. Scott Coltrane (1996) is now focusing his research on the (slowly) growing proportion of couples who share the household division of labour equally. There are now support groups and legal rights groups for divorced fathers who feel unfairly treated regarding visitation rights and child custody; they ask why so many people still assume that women are more naturally suited for parenting than men. Many of these social changes are a consequence of the women's movement that peaked in the 1960s and 1970s. While much of this movement focused on making changes in women's lives and women's roles, there was also some call for changes in men to occur; men would have to change to accommodate the changes that were desired for women. Yet with all of these social changes, the structure of the Boys' World that is constructed in Young Adult novels for boys has remained consistent. Furthermore, looking at some other forms of popular culture, current events, and the work of other researchers, we see this structure echoed outside of Young Adult novels as well. Historian Donald Yacovone (1990) concurs on the basis of his research on masculinity.

> The social roles of men and women, the nature of work, urbanization, industrialization, and, more generally, intellectual life, have changed dramatically since the early nineteenth century, yet cultural perceptions of masculinity have remained remarkably static. (p. 85)

Why the lack of change?

A lack of change is also evident in some other social characteristics. While the proportion of husbands who share housework and childcare has risen, women continue to do the overwhelming majority of such work in most families. Violence against women, and against other men continues to be a social problem. Some women who are active in the continuing women's movement lament the lack of change there is to show for all of their efforts; for all their work, they say, men have not changed.[7] Why is this the case? Some people might say this is confirmation of the natural, biological basis of masculinity. Yet there is a social explanation as well, one that is evident in reading these Young Adult novels. A substantial part of the discourse that surrounds masculinity has been stagnant for more than half a century; the structure of manhood in Young Adult novels written in 1998 is the same as in those written in 1943. Significantly, this is a portion of the discourse that is targeted at adolescents, who are in a stage in life that involves a substantial degree of gender identity formation. If boys (and some girls) are engaging with this part of the discourse at the age of 11, 12, or 13, what degree of change is likely to occur when they become adults? How many boys will choose to leave this particular part of the Boys' World? How many girls will dare to enter it? Will they end up leaving that world to the boys and focus their attention only on changing the Girls' World? Is it possible to effect lasting change in the Girls' World without changing the Boys' World?

Our journey has answered some of the questions that I posited before we embarked. And yet, it leaves some questions unanswered. More importantly, it raises additional questions. In the next chapter, we can see what questions have been answered by our journey, and what new questions have arisen.

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[7] I spoke, on an informal basis, to a number women who have been active in the women's movement since the 1960s, who shared this point of view with me. They asked to remain anonymous.

CHAPTER 7–THIS JOURNEY ENDS: BUT THERE ARE MORE TO BE TAKEN

We have reached the end of our journey--a journey in which we have investigated the interrelationship between gender, youth, and popular culture. Have we found answers to the questions we asked at the outset? My dissertation began with the story of how I felt excluded from the Boys' World, the world *of* boys and the world *for* boys, while I was growing up. That experience has led me to a desire to find out more about that world from which I was excluded; what is found in that world, and what it is made of (in a North American context). The Boys' World is, indeed, 'made', because it is socially-constructed rather than 'natural' or universal; to some extent it varies over time and space, as illustrated in the work of the sociologists and historians addressed in Chapter 4 ("Our Third Stop--The World of Masculinity"). What is it made of? Masculinity--a collection of places in the social order, interpersonal relationships, individual experiences, and the particular meanings attached to all of these factors, all of which are associated with being male in a given culture at a particular time.

The Boys' World is constructed in *discourse*, "that array of happenings that covers everything from music videos, poetry, and rap lyrics, to sports, beer commercials and psychotherapy" (Fausto-Sterling, 1998, p. 385), and the everyday/everynight practices of men (Smith, 1987). This discourse is evident in *youth culture*, which is also socially-constructed, and which developmental psychologists suggest involves the stage in life during which a substantial proportion of gender identity formation occurs in Western cultures. Thus the social construction of youth culture and the social construction of masculinity overlap. Youth culture includes cultural products that are produced and marketed by the youth leisure industry, products that are specifically produced for and marketed to adolescents; one of these products is Young Adult literature. Exploring the Boys' World through Young Adult literature, which has been present in North America for more than 50 years, allows for an analysis of both what the Boys' World is made of, and how it may have changed over time.

Within the methodological approach labeled *social semiotics*, it is suggested that all discourses have structures of meaning that are comprised of *codes* "tell[ing] us what to do in various situations and...what certain things mean" (Berger, 1991, p. 23). Discourses of masculinity have structures of meaning; thus the structure of meaning surrounding masculinity is found by identifying its constituent codes. Subsequently, we identified the codes that comprise the structure of meaning of the Boys' World, as it is constructed in Young Adult literature for boys.

What is the structure of meaning surrounding masculinity in the novels we looked at? First of all, there are three *conditions* that serve as the enabling foundations for the construction of masculinity--normative heterosexuality, embodiment, and 'No Sissy Stuff'. If these conditions are not satisfied, then masculinity cannot be constructed. If these conditions are satisfied, there can be several different ways of being a 'man'. However, these various ways of being masculinity have the same structure, based on eight *components* (i.e. codes)--emotional expression, aggression, collectivity, hierarchy, adventure, competition, athleticism, and morality. The conditions and components of the structure of meaning of the Boys' World in the Young Adult novels are also found in the larger structure of meaning surrounding masculinity in western society; these conditions and components are found in a wide range of cultural products for both males and females (such as music lyrics and series romance novels), in larger sociocultural events (such as public concern expressed over street violence), and in the research done on masculinity by many sociologists and historians.

We also found that the structure of meaning is stable over the three time periods from which the Young Adult novels were selected, ranging from 1940 to 1997. The same conditions and components are present in the novels throughout the period of analysis. The lack of change in the structure of meaning of the Boys' World also extends beyond the Young Adult novels; the most telling illustration of this can be seen in a comparison of this research to that done by Dubbert (1979). Dubbert conducted an historical analysis of guidebooks written for American boys during the Victorian era. These guidebooks were overtly didactic, providing boys with explicit instructions for how to attain manhood, and what being a 'man' meant. He finds a number of themes through his historical analysis, which point to the structure of meaning of the discourse of masculinity constructed in that body of literature for boys. Similarly, on our journey we have found the same structure of meaning of the discourse of masculinity that is constructed in Young Adult literature for boys; although these books are fictional and subsequently not overtly didactic, a comparison to the Victorian guidebooks suggests the presence of a more subtle didacticism. What leads me to this conclusion? The themes of manhood in the Victorian guidebooks for boys are virtually identical to the structure of meaning surrounding masculinity in the Young Adult novels.

The first theme of manhood in the Victorian guidebooks is *success* through competition and proving one is a better man than others; this mirrors the codes of *hierarchy* and *competition* in the Young Adult novels. The second theme is *physical health* through physical exertion, important in developing sound character; this mirrors the codes of *athleticism* and *morality* in the Young Adult novels. The third theme of manhood Dubbert finds is *action* that proves one's courage, through a combination of combat and risk-taking; this mirrors the codes of *aggression* and *adventure*, and the condition of *embodiment* in the Young Adult novels. In the Victorian guidebooks, it is suggested that a failure to act or being fearful could make a boy a Sissy; this mirrors the code of *emotional expression* and the condition of *No Sissy Stuff* in the novels. In combat, loyalty to one's comrades, and acting as part of the group was crucial (Dubbert, 1979); this same message is reflected in the condition of *collectivity* in the Young Adult novels. The last theme of manhood in the Victorian guidebooks is *morality*, referring to having principles and standing up for those principles; this is identical to the component of *morality* in the Young Adult novels. Thus, the three conditions within which masculinity in the Young Adult novels is realized, and the eight structural components of that masculinity are all found in the Victorian guidebooks written for American boys.

Consequently, not only has a portion of the Boys' World remained unchanged in more than 50 years of Young Adult fiction, it has remained unchanged for more than 100 years! During a century that has perhaps seen more social change than in any prior century, the structure of masculinity, at least as constructed in some arenas, is the same; boys in the 1990s reading these novels have been looking at the same Boys' World that boys in the 1890s were looking at.

Of course, the image of masculinity contained in literature does not perfectly correspond to social reality; as Shoemaker (1998) warns, one cannot assume "that prescriptive literature constitutes a reliable picture of historical reality" (p. 5). At times the image portrayed in the Young Adult novels corresponds nicely to normative patterns of male behaviour in society. For example, *collectivities* or male-bonding groups are an important part of masculine social practice, as revealed in Connell's (1995) analyses of working-class men and gay men. At other times, however, the picture of masculinity presented in these novels does not correspond to social reality. For example, there is an overarching assumption of heterosexuality in the novels; the existence of other alternatives is denied. Nevertheless, in reality there are alternatives to heterosexuality. In fact, Kinsey's research in the 1950s and subsequent research suggest a continuum of sexual orientation, ranging from almost exclusive heterosexuality to almost exclusive homosexuality, with innumerable variations between the two polar ends. Thus, the picture of heterosexual masculinity in Young Adult literature is a picture that combines degrees of both social reality and ideals, but not one that necessarily accords with social practices in the last decades of the 20th century. It is an image that integrates a portion of what *is*, and a portion of what *ought to be*, in the eyes of the people involved in the Young Adult literature industry--an image that presents a certain picture of social reality in order to achieve particular ends (although what those ends are is currently unclear, and amenable to further research). The fact that this picture is the same as was portrayed in Victorian guidebooks for boys, and the fact that both Victorian guidebooks and contemporary Young Adult novels are targeted specifically at youth, raises questions about the potential consequences of these literary messages for the possibility of social change.

The Construction of Masculinity and Social Change

Hegemonic masculinity is intimately intertwined with patriarchy, and a feminist goal shared among diverse feminist theories and practices is the eradication of patriarchy; thus, in order to change patriarchal power, there must be changes in masculinity and changes among men.[1] However, there is some debate within the humanities and the social sciences, and even within feminism itself, regarding the extent to which such 'genderbending' is possible.[2] On one side of this debate are those theorists who suggest that one's gender is a *choice*, albeit a choice that exists within certain cultural constraints. Butler (1987) says of this point of view:

> ...gender is a contemporary way of organizing past and future cultural norms, a way of situating oneself in and through those norms, an active style of living one's body in the world. (p. 131)[3]

Within this point of view, the individual is portrayed as being in a lifelong process of reinventing oneself in relation to social norms governing gender--accepting and living within those norms, or resisting them. The individual is an active subject, whose agency includes responding to larger cultural norms.

The reason that choice in gender, and hence genderbending, is perceived as possible is because of the recognition of gender, and the link between sex and gender, as social constructions. If the gendered roles, relations, and meanings that enable patriarchal power are social constructions, then alternative roles, relations, and meanings can also be constructed, thereby ending patriarchal power. Thus, for example, Monique Wittig "envisions a sexless society" (Butler, 1987, p. 136) as the solution to hetero-patriarchal oppression, and Foucault suggests that a proliferation of multiple differences and genders is needed to end the binary opposition between the sexes and its associated hierarchy and power.

On the other side of the debate are those who suggest that the 'genderbending' theorists "lack a reality principle" (Butler, 1987, p. 140) by both overestimating personal agency and underestimating the power of the cultural norms--even one's personal identity is socially-constituted.

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[1] For more information about the link between masculinity and patriarchy, as well as the study of masculinity as a feminist project, see Chapter 1 and Chapter 4.

[2] For a more thorough discussion of this debate, as well as other related debates, see Butler (1987) and Butler (1990).

[3] An example of an early feminist theorist who affirmed this point of view is de Beauvoir (1973).

> I not only choose my gender, and not only choose it within culturally available terms, but on the street I am always constantly constituted by others, so that my self-styled gender may well find itself in comic or even tragic opposition to the gender that others see me through or with. (Butler, 1987, pp. 139-140)

Gender exists not only as personal identity, but also at a social level; that is, for the individual, gender exists internally as a personal identity, and also externally in terms of how others see and treat that individual. The actions that arise from the way others constitute an individual's gender include sanctions for adhering to or for resisting cultural norms, which may have the power to influence the individual's personal identity as well.

For social change to occur, widespread genderbending would be necessary; furthermore, genderbending on a large scale would require expanding tolerance for a what Butler (1987, p. 136) calls a "proliferation of genders". We thereby become embedded within a vicious circle in which tolerance is necessary for large-scale genderbending, and the existence of increasing genderbending is necessary in order for tolerance to develop. Consequently, the nature of social reality makes the idea of transcending gender somewhat fantastical.

In response to these kinds of criticisms, Butler points out that the fact that these theories emphasizing personal agency are even being postulated may indicate that new realities are, indeed, in the process of being constituted right now. That is, the creation of these 'fantasies' is itself creating new social realities. Butler (1987) concludes that "we might do well to urge speculation on the dynamic relation between fantasy and the realization of new social realities....It might well be that Wittig and Foucault offer (a) new identity/ies which, despite all their qualifications, remain utopian" (pp. 140-141).

What we saw on our journey to the Boys' World through the window of Young Adult literature for boys provides some contradiction to the suggestion that the 'fantasies' of the theorists described above are constituting new social realities comprising tolerance for genderbending. Not only is the structure of masculinity unchanged in more than 50 years of

Young Adult literature for boys, but that structure is also evident in guidebooks for boys written more than a century ago (Dubbert, 1979). In this portion of discourse, at least, the level of tolerance for genderbending has remained relatively unchanged. The Young Adult novels that I read comprise part of what Butler (cited in Clough, 1994, p. 149) calls that "regulatory fiction" that maintains "the heterosexual matrix of desire", in which sex, gender, and desire converge. Within this matrix, both gender and desire are presumed to arise from one's biological sex (manifested in the male or female body), making normative gender ideals appear 'natural'. In the Young Adult novels and the Victorian guidebooks , the codes that comprise the structure of masculinity are portrayed as inextricably linked with the male body--masculinity emerges from a male body, and activating that male body enables the individual to participate more fully in masculinity.

Butler (1990, p. 17) suggests that this "dominant fiction necessarily defines as impossible certain identities of bodies, desires, genders, and sexual practices." That is, a particular way of understanding gender is conveyed within the regulatory fiction.

> The cultural matrix through which gender identity has become intelligible requires that certain kinds of identities cannot "exist"--that is, those in which gender does not follow from sex and those in which the practices of desire do not "follow" from either sex or gender. (Butler, 1990, p. 17).

In the novels, heterosexuality is one of the conditions within which masculinity is realized. That is, masculinity is necessarily heterosexual, and no alternatives even exist in the 'reality' that is constructed in the stories. In constructing a world within which both heterosexuality and the structure of masculinity necessarily arise from the male body, the Young Adult novels (and the Victorian guidebooks studied by Dubbert, 1979) portray a world within which nothing else is 'naturally' possible. In the novels, the few non-masculine male characters who do exist are portrayed as exceptions to the rule, as 'freaks-of-nature' (for example, because of having one of those rare bodies that is incapable of masculine action) or in the case of those characters whose non-masculinity is attributed to parenting, 'freaks-of-culture' whose socialization has wrongfully defied nature. These Sissies are punished for defying what is natural--as Piggy (*Lord of the Flies,* 1954) was punished by dying a horrible, violent death.

Thus, while gender is a social construction that does not directly arise from sex, the dominant regulatory fiction in society converges sex, gender, and desire, and suggests that sex does 'naturally' precede gender and desire. Fictional literature is a part of this regulatory cultural fiction, as a "means of promoting and suppressing modes of reading the social" (Clough, 1994, p. 169); that is, fictional literature conveys to readers a way of understanding the world around them. Consequently, the Young Adult novels I read convey to readers an understanding of the world around them that is based on a convergence of sex, gender, and desire, in which the structure of masculinity the novels portray is a 'natural' one with no real alternatives. What do we see when we integrate the construction of masculinity in the Young Adult novels, the instructions given to boys in Victorian guidebooks, and the theoretical work of Butler (1987, 1990) and Clough (1994)? We see a complex discursive web within which the 'regulatory fiction' of the 'heterosexual matrix of desire' has been and is maintained--which may preclude the possibility of change, or the extent of change, that can arise from personal agency (i.e. from the individual making a *choice* about gender).

Where Can We Go From Here?

The nature of the relationship that exists between literature and social reality is a relationship that is being conceptualized by a number of contemporary feminist theorists as being important to a more thorough understanding of gender(s) and domination. Clough (1994, p. 5) says of these feminist theorists

> ...They are reinventing the literary by making clear how the literary is not merely a matter of fiction. Indeed, they are showing how the literary, especially its modern narrative form, has a political or ideological content and, therefore, how narrative form provides the logic or the ideologies by which social relationships are made intelligible....[They] are also reinventing the social by making clear that reading and writing are not merely about the verbal or written text. Rather, they are about contentions over hegemony and counterhegemonies, shaping and reshaping the forms of intelligibility by which social reality is constituted.

The role of literature in the maintenance of the 'regulatory fiction' of the 'heterosexual matrix of desire' should be explored in the future in the context of Young Adult literature. What is the process by which certain images of social reality come to be portrayed in Young Adult literature and thereby certain ways of understanding 'reality' conveyed to readers? In addition to exploring the content of these novels, analysis should also explore the writing/publishing process for Young Adult literature, and the process by which didacticism emerges. Who is writing Young Adult novels, and why have they decided to write them--do they want to achieve something, or make a point, or encourage certain behaviours among youth? Who is involved in Young Adult publishing, and why? What are the criteria used to determine which manuscripts will and will not be published as Young Adult novels, and by what (or by whom) are those criteria influenced? Who writes the literary reviews for Young Adult literature (which may have a substantial impact on the book selection process in schools, libraries, and some bookstores), and what assumptions/goals do those reviewers have regarding youth?

However, before embarking on an analysis of the Young Adult writing/publishing process, an additional step must be taken. I read only 30 Young Adult novels; would the same structure of meaning surrounding masculinity have emerged after reading many more novels? The answer to this question is important if one is to embark on a project that explores the relationship between the literary and the social, and the consequences of that relationship for the possibility of social change.

To analyze the 'social' side of the literary/social relationship and the question of the possibility of genderbending to a greater depth, another question should be investigated. To what extent is the structure of meaning found in the Young Adult novels echoed in other portions of the discourses of masculinity in society? This question was addressed to some degree in the preceding chapter, but certainly can be addressed to a greater magnitude in future research. Such research would more thoroughly address the larger societal structure of meaning surrounding masculinity, which would point to the extent to which 'new social realities' (Butler, 1987) are, in fact, being created.

Of course, the most comprehensive understanding of the above issues can emerge from research that explores both masculinity and femininity, as well as the relations between them. How does the structure of meaning surrounding *femininity* in these Young Adult novels compare to that of masculinity? Is an entirely different set of components needed to construct femininity than masculinity, or are some components shared? If some components do overlap, are they connected in similar or dissimilar ways? Masculinity is frequently considered as an opposition to femininity, a dualism that several theorists are suggesting is itself a social construction (Butler, 1987, 1990; Clough, 1994); what is the degree of this opposition in Young Adult literature, if in fact there is an opposition at all? Simultaneously exploring the structure of masculinity, the structure of femininity, and the structure of relations between masculinity and femininity, may also enable a better understanding of the structure of *gender* in North American culture.

Finally, another possibility for future research is to talk to the youth who read Young Adult novels in order to determine what impact this aspect of discourse about gender has on their own thoughts and lives. I have read these novels as social documents; they have been written, not to be read as social documents, but to be read as pleasurable fiction. Whereas my reading provides access to a certain portion of gendered discourse, it cannot provide access to the whole of gendered discourse as contained in Young Adult literature and reading. The readings of youth themselves would enable understanding of another segment of gendered discourse, and the relationship between the literary and the social--another piece of the pie of masculinity.

Means of Approach

We have accessed the Boys' World as constructed in Young Adult literature via a discourse analysis informed by social semiotics. Could different approaches provide access to that world as well? Throughout the qualitative arena, a similar set of techniques is used [4], although a variety of theoretical underpinnings are possible; for example, the research contained in the anthology edited by Roman and Christian-Smith (1988) uses similar techniques, but with a theoretical foundation in *historical or feminist materialism*. In the quantitative arena, a quantitative content analysis might be useful. Such an analysis might count the number of acts of aggression in each novel or each time period, the number of times emotion is restrained or expressed, the proportion of male characters who belong to some type of male hang-out group, and so on. This type of analysis might be better able to address the possibility of change over time, and the magnitude of such change; it might not, however, be able to identify the constituent elements of masculinity.

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[4] A description of this set of techniques, as well as its prevalence in qualitative research, is described in Chapter 5.

While other approaches could be used to study masculinity as constructed in Young Adult literature, the approach we used does provide valuable knowledge about the Boys' World. It provides us with the basic building blocks of masculinity; this allows for variation and plurality in how one can be a 'man', but prevents endless plurality and relativism by placing a structure around that variation. The same method could be used to identify the structure of masculinity in other portions of the discourse, as well as to identify the structure of other socially-constructed qualities (e.g. age, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, etc.). This method could be used to study the discourses of other cultures as well; its value is not restricted to North American society. Whether one is exploring gender, age, race/ethnicity, or socioeconomic status in North America or elsewhere in the world, an analysis informed by social semiotics would identify the structure of meaning through a set of codes which (paraphrasing Berger, 1991) would tell us what to do in various situations (based on one's age, sex, race/ethnicity, etc.) and what those things mean in a given culture at a particular point in time. By providing knowledge of the structure of meaning, a social semiotic approach would also enable cross-cultural comparisons of how age, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or other qualities are socially-constructed.

Where do we go from here, based on what we have seen on our journey to the Boys' World? The range of possibilities is almost limitless. Wherever you or I choose to go in the future, what is clear is that the journeys have just begun.

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APPENDIX A: YOUNG ADULT NOVELS INCLUDED[1]

Time Period #1: 1940-1959

Annixter, P. (1950). *Swiftwater*. New York: Hill & Wang.
Felsen, H. G. (1950). *Hot Rod*. New York: Dutton.
Forbes, E. (1943). *Johnny Tremain*. New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell.
Golding, W. (1954). *Lord of the Flies*. New York: Capricorn Books.
Harkins, P. (1953). *Road Race*. New York: Crowell.
Krumgold, J. (1959). *Onion John*. New York: HarperCollins.
Orwell, G. (1946). *Animal Farm*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
Salinger, J. D. (1951). *Catcher in the Rye*. Boston: Little, Brown.
Tunis, J. (1942). *All-American*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
Tunis, J. (1944). *Yea! Wildcats*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Time Period #2: 1960-1979

Cormier, R. (1974). *The Chocolate War*. New York: Pantheon.
Duncan, L. (1973). *I Know What You Did Last Summer*. New York: Pocket Books.
Hamilton, V. (1974). *M. C. Higgins, the Great*. New York: Aladdin.
Hinton, S. E. (1967). *The Outsiders*. New York: Viking Press.
Kaufman, B. (1964). *Up the Down Staircase*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
L'Engle, M. (1962). *A Wrinkle in Time*. New York: Laurel Leaf Books.
Lipsyte, R. (1967). *The Contender*. New York: Harper & Row.
Raskin, E. (1978). *The Westing Game*. New York: Puffin Books.
Rawls, W. (1961). *Where the Red Fern Grows*. New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell.
Zindel, P. (1968). *The Pigman*. New York: Bantam.

Time Period #3: 1980-1997

Fox, P. (1984). *One-Eyed Cat*. New York: Bradbury Press.
Oppel, K. (1997). *Silverwing*. Toronto, ON: HarperCollins.
Paulsen, G. (1985). *Dogsong*. New York: Aladdin.
Paulsen, G. (1987). *Hatchet*. New York: Aladdin
Sleator, W. (1984). *Interstellar Pig*. New York: Puffin Books.
Stine, R. L. (1990). *Missing*. New York: Pocket Books.
Turner, M. W. (1996). *The Thief*. New Yhork: Greenwillow Books.
Voigt, C. (1987). *Sons from Afar*. New York: Atheneam.
Wynne-Jones, T. (1995). *The Maestro*. Toronto, ON: Groundwood Books/Douglas & McIntyre.
Lowry, L. (1993). *The Giver*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

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[1] Note that there are multiple publishing editions for many of these books, so that the page numbers of quotations provided in Chapter 6 may vary, depending on the publishing edition being read.

APPENDIX B: SUMMARY OF THE STRUCTURE OF MASCULINITY, EXPANDED FORM

What follows is an elaboration of the structure of masculinity, which points out the various ways that each of the conditions and codes of masculinity is apparent in the novels. Each of the expanded elements listed within a single condition or code can exist independently of the other elements within that condition/code when considering a single character or even a single novel; however, the expanded elements are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Conditions within which masculinity is realized

A. Normative heterosexuality

B. Embodiment

  1. Noticing one's body
  2. Experiencing and expressing emotions physically
  3. Physical action
  4. The body as enabling or limiting of other components of masculinity

C. No sissy stuff

Codes of masculinity

A. Emotional expression

  1. The "cowboy": Expressing emotions (other than anger) is unacceptable[1]
  2. The "playboy": Feeling emotions (other than anger) is unacceptable[2]

B. Aggression

  1. Through violence
     (a) non-interpersonal violence: violence directed toward an object
     (b) interpersonal violence: violence directed toward a person
  2. Through "driving energy or initiative" (Merriam-Webster dictionary)
  3. Through "hostile...behavior or outlook" (Merriam-Webster dictionary)

C. Collectivity

  1. As enabling greater power than is possible with individual masculinity
  2. As providing family-like support and belonging
  3. As enhancing of an individual male's masculinity

D. Hierarchy

  1. Explicit/implicit hierarchies
  2. Hierarchies of power, and/or honor, and/or status

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[1] The exceptions lie within particular character-driven and/or situational contexts within which masculinity is otherwise being strongly enacted.

[2] Ibid.

E. Competition

1. As a means to an end (e.g. status, power, money, championship, life itself, etc.)
2. As an end it itself (i.e. competition for the sake of being competitive)

F. Athleticism

1. Explicit part of character description/implicit assumption about male life
3. Participant/Fan

G. Morality, physically enacted

1. Following society's rules
2. Knowing Right versus Wrong, regardless of society's rules
3. Legitimate use of violence in pursuit of morality

H. Adventure

1. Intentionally seeking adventure
2. Having adventure thrust upon one